THE

WANDERER;

OR

ANECDOTES AND INCIDENTS,

THE RESULT AND OCCURRENCES

OF A

RAMBLE ON FOOT,

THROUGH FRANCE, GERMANY AND ITALY,

IN 1791 AND 1793.

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OF GRAY'S-INN.

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THE

THE

WANDERER.

CHAP. I.

SUPERSTITION.

AS this chapter contains ſome anecdotes of the religious prejudices and credulity of the continent, of the abject ſervility of the people, and the lordly dignity of the clergy, it may be expected, that I ſhould preface it with an account of the origin and riſe of Catholic abſurdities. To this arduous taſk, I muſt confeſs my information to be unequal; and, perhaps, I may revere the "amiable prejudices" of ſo many thouſands of my fellow

creatures. Though I may acknowledge the errors and deluſion of ſuperſtition, I may dread the diffuſion of knowledge and truth; and wiſhing to continue the vaſt majority of mankind in ignorance and error, I may expect more happineſs in their vices, than from their virtues. But if my information is inſufficient to complete a treatiſe, it will permit me to fill a few pages; and I cannot, with greater ſatisfaction to myſelf, enter upon this little labour, than by relating ſome religious extravagancies from the mouth of a pious monk:

"I was born of a noble family; but having the misfortune of being a cadet, I was ſoon informed by my elder brother, that the mortgages and incumbrances of his eſtates obliged him to diminiſh the eſtabliſhment of his houſehold. The ſword, and the goſpel were

were my only weapons; and as I abominated murder, however legalized, I piouſly embraced the alternative of ſpiritual warfare. The current of opinion unfortunately runs high againſt the exemptions, privileges, and holy office of earthly mediators; and the curſed example of one nation may be cruelly imitated by the other nations of the continent. The degenerate world no longer reſpects the ſacred property of the church: gold and ſilver utenſils are inconſiſtent, they think, with our vows of poverty: the good of mankind, they profanely declare, was not the ſole motive of our profeſſion of chaſtity, and indifference to temporal concerns; but that, becauſe diſguſted with an ungrateful world, an artful miſtreſs, or a deceitful friend, many fled for refuge to the ſecluded virtues of a monaſtic life. Accuſtomed to a life of eaſe and lux-

ury, and ſeeing the ſuppliant multitude obedient to my inſpired commands, I was eaſily convinced, that our holy order were the elect, and favourites of God—that the people were made to toil and ſweat for us—and that to murmur againſt the pious benefactions of their religious anceſtors, or to expreſs the ſmalleſt doubt of the juſtice of our holy and inviolable greatneſs, is the moſt daring and wicked blaſphemy. The legendary tales of my convent, which I had repeated or heard, till I was ſatisfied of their truth, or the pious frauds, which my own imagination had created, were unanſwerable proofs of the ſanctity and truth of our ſuperſtitions, and of the peculiar bleſſedneſs of our houſe. In the evangelical writings, as they contained the ſimple, unadorned principles of morality, I diſcovered few ſources of pleaſure; but I earneſtly recommended

the hiſtory of the fathers, and the chriſtian martyrs, to the devotion of the multitude; and for my ſpiritual advice, for my invaluable benedicite, I modeſtly claimed a tythe only of their goods. My prayers for their welfare were inceſſant—in my cell—on the road—and in my bed. I aſſiduouſly inculcated the neceſſity of reverence to our order; and if I accidentally found an irreligious or immoral book, I took it from the eyes of a corrupted world, and piouſly conſigned it to hell *. The clergy were neceſſarily the peaceable mediators with the ſaints; and I never permitted any

* One part of a monaſtic library was generally denominated hell: it contained the laſcivious works of all ages; and in the peruſal of them the auſtere monk might be allowed to warm his frozen veins, and execrate the increaſing depravity of mankind.

any bold enquirer to limit the divinity, or duration of my unproducing anceſtors, or to fix the moment when we ſeparated from the people. In obedience to canonical law, I denied any ſchiſms in our church; and I boldly maintained, that the decrees of the general councils were paramount to every thing on earth, and though ſometimes they claſhed and contradicted each other, that they were all equally obligatory. I ſhuddered, if I heard a doubt of the divinity of the Son, or of the immaculate virginity of his earthly mother. I encouraged the innocent lambs of my flock to divide "the goats from the ſheep," and to extirpate the obdurate, and guilty race of Jews; and once, upon the intruſion of a proteſtant heretic into our holy chapel, I turned my diſcourſe againſt that dangerous hereſy, and had

I not

I not pitied the wretch, I would have renewed the holy Bartholomew upon his accurſed aſſociates.

" I daily exhorted my pious diſciples to the frequent and ceremonious diſcharge of their devotional duties—and inſinuated the neceſſity of liberally contributing to the wants of the clergy; and I expatiated, with holy fervour, upon the enormous ſums paid by the holy mother church in religious proceſſions, incenſe, holy water, lamps, and candles, and that without theſe, without conſtant adoration and offerings to their images, their Godhead would grow inattentive to the wants and requeſts of mankind. My own feelings directed me to ſupplicate the virgin, " the queen of heaven," in preference to her Son: and as I had in my intercourſe with the world, diſcovered, that benevolence was ſexual,

I commanded, with the abſolute authority of a confeſſorial tyrant, my female devotees, to ſupplicate the goodneſs of the Son; and with the men, I ſolicited the kind complying ſmiles of the mother. The viſits of our ſiſters were always *warmly* welcomed; and when the duties of my monaſtery called me to bleſs the profane people, I ſometimes took refuge from their importunate clamours, in the chamber of my innocent niece*; or leaving my ſandals at the door of the chamber, I generouſly anticipated the laborious duties of the huſband.

But

* Niece is a name given in Spain to the miſtreſs of a dignified prieſt; and there alſo, if a monk, wiſhing an undiſturbed *tête à tête* with the handſome wife of his neighbour, leaves his ſandals at the door of her chamber, it would be impious and heretical in the huſband, or friend, or lover, to interrupt their private devotions.—Does not a female's ſlipper at the door of the Haram, operate, in like manner, upon the jealous huſbands of the Mahometan ſect?

But I call heaven and the holy virgin to witneſs, that I never deceived a credulous huſband, in the dreſs of a woman, or with kind attention to her wants, and indulgent to his other temporal concerns, ſpiritually propitiated the functions of the accoucheuſes.

" I daily inſtructed the people in the abſolute neceſſity of obedience; and we both believed, that the ſacred image of the virgin, in our chapel, ſhed tears, perſpired ſweat or blood, as ſhe was variouſly affected with the follies or vices of mankind; but I artfully concealed from the *ſwiniſh multitude*, that though in exterior dreſs and appearance a woman, the ſacred image had once been worſhiped, as a Pagan Bacchus. One relique indeed was too precious for human eyes: and twice a year only we condeſcended to ſhew to admiring nations an original impreſſion

of our Saviour's face upon an handkerchief, and the picture of his earthly mother, painted by the good St. Luke. Our houſe ſeldom exacted donations from the catholic poor; if we took from the princes and lords of the earth the ſuperabundance of wealth, we kindly diſtributed their gifts to the poor, from whoſe hard labour, the obſtinate Jacobin impudently inſiſts, it was originally extorted; and we never permitted ſanctuary or refuge, at the horns of our altar, to the thief, the outcaſt, or murderer.

" We were content: and though the road to wealth and honours were laid open to us, and though we might have thereby fed fifty additional monks, we refuſed, for the trifling remuneration of ———, (eighteen pence Engliſh money) to live upon the credulity of the people, by ſprinkling with holy

holy water the tails of their horſes*. I never inſiſted, that flagallation was neceſſary to ſecure the poſſeſſion of heavenly joys; but when the ſins of my flock, or the orders of the ſuperior loudly commanded the penance, I gently inflicted the puniſhment upon the female aſpirants, and never expected any other reward, than obedience to my clerical deſires—a ſubmiſſive kiſs of the rod, or of the ſleeve of my doublet—and a weekly renewal of this holy duty. If the people were ſubmiſſive and obedient, if no jealous huſband, or fooliſh lover, interrupted the

* In Rome, &c. there is a yearly feſtival, called the "Benediction of horſes:" but the devout catholic, not ſatisfied with the preſervation, and ſanctity of this moſt uſeful domeſtic animal, pays alſo for the bleſſing and ſprinkling of his aſſes, &c. and even in ſome places, a favourite pig, ſelected from the litter, receives the holy benediction of the prieſt, and the ſign of the croſs.

the joys of my heavenly devotion with his wife, or his miſtreſs, and if they quietly permitted the church to receive the firſt fruits of the earth, I granted to all, both men and women, forgiveneſs for the paſt, and by the virtue of my plenary and ſacerdotal power, releaſing them from the pains and incertitude of purgatory, indulgently opened to them the gates of paradiſe."

Such were the life and honours of the clergy in the obedient realms of the church; but France, even during the happy period of the monarchy, was always the leaſt ſubmiſſive of her daughters. The example of the court, of the different orders of nobility, and even of the prieſts themſelves, tended to deſtroy the ſhackles of ſuperſtition. In the towns, the peo le had ſhaken off many of their abſurd prejudices,

and

and it was no longer criminal in the eye of God, or derogatory to the happineſs and virtue of man, to eat meat on a Friday. *Il fait maigre* had received a death wound even from the hands of the mitred dignitary; and the villagers alone continued to deprive themſelves of the beneficent generoſity of nature. Poets ſay, that juſtice, when ſhe fled the earth, left her laſt ſteps among the ruſtics; and ſuperſtition will fondly perſuade herſelf, that religion and morality, which they pretend is entirely ſhaken off by the great body of France, have ſtill a holy refuge in La Vendee. The wearied traveller, if obliged to reſt upon a maigre day, in ſome ſecluded village, muſt be content with the loſs of *animal* ſuſtenance; but he may overload himſelf with *fiſh*, and eggs dreſſed with every variety of art, and intoxicate himſelf with copious

draughts

draughts of wine. For a moral turpitude he can obtain indulgence: but for breaking the omnipotent ordinances of the church, for eating meat, he muſt ſuffer long in a ſtate of uncleanneſs. I once perſuaded a poor Savoyarde, though her ſcruples were numerous, to bring me the forbidden diſh; but for this breach of the catholic law, I was obliged to increaſe the maſs of my tranſgreſſions: ſhe required, what I immediately acquieſced in, that it was *a vos riſques et perils.* But the church, always attentive to its own intereſts, and turning the credulity of the believer to profit, will, for a ſtipulated ſum, grant permiſſion to the ſcrupulous Aubergiſte to accommodate travellers, as they wiſh. Some prepare the *table d'hôte*, without a queſtion: others will demand, *ſi vous êtes voyageur et fatiguè*, and to the poor traveller

veller on foot will add, with a tone, that makes him reflect on the miſeries of his condition, *et las de marcher.*

But as the French have impiouſly laid aſide the holy cuſtom *de faire maigre*, and have alſo tranſgreſſed more poſitive law, the artful eccleſiaſtic ſeized the joyous occaſion to recommend more earneſtly the ſtrict obſervance of the moſt trifling ceremonials; and if, in this holy war, the combined powers ſhould ſucceed, the world will be again overſhadowed with the clouds of ignorance and ſuperſtition, and perhaps place more confidence in the man, who in obedience to catholic canonicals, forbears to eat, than on him, who regularly diſcharges the more ſubſtantial duties of religion and morality.

Though

Though forbidden to nouriſh the body, the traveller is, every moment, ſolicited to renew his engagements with heaven. At every turn of the road, at the end of every village, the ſplendid habits of the virgin faſcinate his eye; or an unweildy ſculptured biſhop, in gaudy attire, elevated to a ſaint, perhaps by his vices, and ſwollen with firſt fruits, pointing to an image of his naked, bleeding, proſtrate maſter, commands his worſhip. Sometimes, indeed, a pigmy image, or a daubed picture peeps from a ſmall niche in a wall: or the ſovereign will of the biſhop, written upon tin, generouſly grants forty, thirty, or twenty days of grace, of indulgence to thoſe (*à ceux et celles*) who ſhall repeat five, four, or three *Pater-noſters*, and as many *Ave Marias*, before that croſs. Among the mountains of Savoy, the

the titular biſhop of Geneva, has been very profuſe in this ſpecies of indulgent kindneſs: the people, I hope, are grateful: but much is to be apprehended. Elevated from an abject ſubmiſſion, the human mind often aſſumes a daring and unruly boldneſs; and ſince nationalized by the name of the department of Mont Blanc, the inhabitants of the ancient dutchy may have deſtroyed thoſe inſignia of religious dejection; and by fraternizing with their neighbours, have, perhaps, received ſome portion of their republican and reforming ſpirit.

But in the Valais, the catholic errors reign with all their priſtine vigour. Secluded from the commerce of the great world, by their enormous Alps, the Valaiſan roams, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, in a large monaſtery, and is monaſtically obedient to the

the infallible injunctions of the biſhop of Sion. Having arrived at Sierre, after a painful journey acroſs the paſs of Gemmi, and being much way-worn, I ſent for the kind aſſiſtance of a ſhoemaker; but as the day was unfortunately dedicated to our lady, I could not procure for money, what was ſo indiſpenſibly neceſſary for the proſecuting my journey. At noon, was celebrated a high maſs; and a ſolemn proceſſion of the hoſt, accompanied by prieſts, and a numerous concourſe of people, moved ſlowly from one church to the other. The noiſe of the pſalmodiſts, and the roaring of the Rhoſne, were re-echoed, like a murmur among the more diſtant mountains. Though I pulled off my hat, and ſhewed every mark of obeiſance, except a genuflexion, ſome old women, darting their eyes upon me with indignation, muttered "*c'eſt un hèrétique.*"

At

At the inn I had received every attention, that the hoſteſs could pay; but in the evening, when ſhe was buſied in preparing a ſupper for *M. L'Anglois*, unfortunately a mendicant friar called in, and although, as is uſual, he paid nothing for his night's lodging, he was moſt welcomely received. His appearance interrupted her worldly concerns, and from them ſhe quickly flew to the fancied preſervation of her ſoul. They converſed a long time in the Patois of the Valais, of which I was utterly ignorant; ſhe unburthening her cares to her ghoſtly comforter, ſpoke in the language and tone of confeſſion; but he, maintaining the ſurly dignity of a father, ſeldom vouchſafed to utter an unconſoling word of authority. She, at laſt, burſting into tears, fell upon her knees. Many people were in the room; but no native ſeemed affected with the novelty

novelty of the incident. I alone gazed upon him, and her for five minutes: he at laſt bleſſed her, and ſhe immediately returned to her domeſtic concerns with a face of gladneſs.

In Lorrain, at the door of a chapel near the road, I ſaw a woman upon her knees: ſhe ſeemed to pray very fervently, and was not in the leaſt diſturbed by our going near her. The volatile Frenchman, a ſoldier, with whom I had walked ſome miles that day, attempted to awaken her from her religious reverie—" *Bon jour, ma mère—vous êtes toujours en priéres?*" She, however, continued the hiſtory of her wants, or deſires; but my companion not permitting her to be long undiſturbed, ſeveral times repeated his queſtion. At laſt ſhe warmly anſwered, " *Je ne prie pas pour moy perſomellement, mais pour les pauvres voyageurs, qui n'out pas*

pas l'eſprit de prier pour eux mêmes. She did not riſe from her knees, and her happy repartèe, though accompanied with a ſmile, ſo goaded the lively ſoldier, that he ſnarlingly replied, ſhe was a *ſacrèe b-grèſſe.*

The clergy, who profeſs to be under obligation to read ſo much, or ſo long in the bible every day, oſtentatiouſly contrive to diſcharge this duty in company; and if you travel in a bark, in a coach, or on foot, with theſe ſpiritual fathers, they invariably take out the holy writ. From Ghent to Bruges I have ſeen a prieſt, after reading half an hour, lay down his bible, and join, moſt eagerly, and without a moment's intermiſſion, at a party of cards. The people alſo are ſolicitous to loſe no time; they have been told and they believe, that time is precious; and as they are going, or returning from market, the women

women on one ſide, the men on the other ſide of the road, alternately repeat their ſhort prayers, queſtions, and reſponſes:—more noiſy, perhaps not leſs inſincere, than their prieſts.

When the dangers of the mountains of Savoy obliged us to take a guide, we were continually ſolicited, by his example, and inquiſitive ſtare, to pay our adoration, and bleſs our breaſts before the mountain croſſes*; and becauſe we paſſed heedleſs by, the Savoyard ſhook his head, and murmured. In every ſmall village, where was placed a holy fount, he looked thoughtful, dipped his fingers in the water,

* The mountain paſſes, particularly in Savoy, abound with croſſes, which ſerve the traveller as direction poſts; and before theſe the devout catholic repeats an holy Ave Maria, thanks his tutelary ſaint for the dangers paſt, and ſolicits his *divine* protection over the future difficulties of the road.

water, which the crafty prieſts had there laid to entrap the believer; and devoutly repeated his *aſperges me domine!*

In ſome places, the bleſſed image of the virgin is covered by a ſmall houſe, in which the devotee may direct his prayers to heaven, or the wearied traveller take ſhelter from the impending ſtorm. Such houſes, if not neceſſary to religion, are highly ſerviceable in a country, where habitations are rare; and upon this principle, the convent on the Mont St. Bernard is, in part, ſupported by the voluntary donations of the proteſtant cantons of Switzerland. Whatever may be the rage of reformation, in the countries adjoining, the people moſt probably will ſo far conſult their own intereſts, and the ſafety and convenience of the traveller, as to permit theſe uſeful

monks

monks thus to benefit ſociety; nor will the moſt rancorous ſpirit of revolution deny theſe ſecluded wretches the miſeries and ſeverity of an Alpine winter, at ſo great an elevation.

The rural ſhrines, or oratories on the way ſide, may be uſeful to the traveller; but the chapels, that are erected on dreadful eminences, ſometimes under the cover of a tree, or a grove, are both highly pagan and idolatrous, and as removed from ſociety, and unfrequented by paſſengers, ſerve only to increaſe the ignorance of mankind, or the purſes of the prieſts. The abbey of Einſielden, in Switzerland, and the chapel near the little town of Modana, in the county of Maurienne, or indeed our lady of Loretto or Impruneta, however they may attract the footſteps of pilgrims, and fanatic religioniſts, are, in the eyes of the philoſopher,

philoſopher, and the friend of mankind, of little compare with the chapel of William Tell, the iſland of St. Pierre on the lake of Bienne, or the delicious retreat of Lavater, on the fertile banks of Zurich.

The monks of the Grande Chartreuſe had little opportunity of exerciſing their benevolence: their monaſtery, ſituated in a narrow vale, everywhere incloſed by mountains, is ſo ſecluded, that it is neceſſary to go many miles out of the common roads to arrive at it. Travellers, whoſe curioſity is of the religious caſt, generally viſit it; and upon theſe the good-humoured monks heap every civility. The ſanctity of the place has been lately profaned by the impious reformers: and the prayer-bell, which ſo often awakened the ſlumbering inhabitants to prayers and penance, now melted into cannon, excites

another people to arms, "to victory or death."

When the National Aſſembly, in the firſt days of the revolution, permitted the monks to leave their cells, many of them joyfully embraced the opportunity to rejoin their youthful aſſociates; and this example has ſince been followed by many monaſtics of the biſhoprick of Liege. Of thoſe, who remained in the religious houſes, ſome were prevented from benefitting by the permiſſion, through motives of convenience; and the large private libraries, which many of the ſuperiors had collected in their cells, indicate, if we may judge by the ſelection, that the monks were not all bigots. At the Grand Chartreuſe, the coadjutor, after ſhewing me the chapel of the convent, where, as I have elſewhere mentioned, he behaved with the moſt abject demeanour, and ridiculous

ridiculous ceremonies, conducted me to ſee his own cell. As an officer of the order, he was entitled to many privileges and exemptions from the rules and ſeverities of the Brunonian Code; and feeling ſome of the aſpiring independance of man, he had dared to think and read. Many of the hours, which the vulgar recluſe was obliged to paſs in prayer and faſting, the dignitary might ſlumber in his apartment, or dedicate to the purſuits of philoſophy, and literature. Among the numerous books in the coadjutor's library, I particularized the philoſophic works of Hume and Bolingbroke, the confeſſions of Rouſſeau, and his Emilius, ſome of the ſarcaſtic pleaſantries of Voltaire, and the deiſtical labours of Chub; and when I expreſſed my ſurprize, that he ſhould have ſelected thoſe writers, he ſmiled—ſhrugged—and at

laſt, denying that he purchaſed them, declared, that ſome of them were gifts by an Engliſh traveller. If I have wronged the good father, if he has imbibed nothing of the philoſophy, under which his library groans, I demand of him, and the world forgiveneſs. In the beginning of life he had ſtudied, and practiſed phyſic at Dijon; but having experienced ſome misfortunes, he had taken ſanctuary in the pious garb of a Carthuſian; and if he now warmly admires the ſuperſtition and ceremonious adoration of a monaſtic, convenience and the force of habit, not the conviction of reaſon, muſt have produced the alteration of ſentiment.

When miniſters wiſhed to conceal the diſaſtrous affairs of the allies in the laſt campaign, we ſaw diſplayed in a London Gazette, a long account of the

the elevation of St. Januarius's head, to oppoſe the all-deſtroying progreſs of the lava of Veſuvius; and modern incredulity alſo laughs at the impotent efforts of St. Carlo Barromeo, the tutelary ſaint of Milan, to reſiſt the impetuous battalions of the French republic. But whatever were the once boaſted zeal and energies of the people of Italy, and of the catholic faith, they have been everywhere overwhelmed by the enthuſiaſm and ardour of liberty. That ſpirit, which, when directed by the holy exhortations of the hermit Peter, ranged embattled nations in the glorious cauſe of recovering the holy land from the impious infidels, now droops at the approach of a tri-coloured flag, or a national cockade—ſhame on the times! But the deluded people of Europe, when they now hear and ſee the thunder and lightning in the heavens, no longer

believe, that it is the voice, and finger of God; and even in the moſt bigoted regions, they ſeldom pull off their hats*, before this loud expreſſion of divine wrath.

The condition and rational faculties of man are, everywhere, ameliorated and enlarged; and the facility of communication, the expedition and commodiouſneſs of travelling, and the increaſing deſire of obſerving the prejudices and cuſtoms of our fellow creatures

* I attribute this modern inattention to the improved ſtate of the human mind, and to the generally diffuſed knowledge of the natural cauſes of thunder. But I once ſaw ſome Alſatian peaſants, collected in a country drinking houſe, violently vociferate at each other—give blows—drink wine, and beer—and play cards, immediately after Sunday's maſs: but upon a flaſh of lightning ſtriking their eyes, they ſuddenly became ſilent, uncovered, murmured, croſſed their breaſts; and after nearly proſtrating themſelves, in a moment renewed their paſtimes.

creatures accelerate the progreſs of the mind. I have in this chapter briefly mentioned the ſtupid bigotry of the Valais, where environed by immenſe Alps, the native is precluded from intercourſe with the world; and the traveller muſt confeſs, that even in the proteſtant, and more enlightened cantons of Switzerland, the information of the inhabitants is very circumſcribed. The romantic ſtories of the bravery, and the exploits of their anceſtors, repeated to the Swiſs in his youth, are dear to him in his old age; and as they are generally mixed with fables, and portions of legendary tales, bigotry and deluſion are as fondly cheriſhed as courage and truth.

From Walledſtadt to Zurich, I travelled in the company of two Swiſs ſoldiers, of the body guard of France: though proteſtants, they revered the

prejudices of the catholics, and ſhuddered at the impious alterations of the French reformers. They expatiated, with pléaſure, upon the former grandeur of the monarque, and were then haſtening to Paris, to reſtore the degraded king to his juſt and lawful authority. As we ſkirted along the canton of Schweitz, I propoſed to enter a catholic chapel; but when we arrived within ſight of the gaudy altar, one of them ſuddenly withdrew, and beckoned to the other to follow. I ſaw no ſubject of alarm; and except an old decrepid woman, and the conſecrated wafer, which I knew to be really body and blood, I was the only living being in the chapel. I ſatisfied my curioſity; and as I had ſprinkled my forehead, made the ſign of the croſs, and repeated the myſtical *in nomine patris, &c.* I received a welcome ſalute from the decayed virgin.

I afterwards

I afterwards joined my companions, and enquired of them the reaſon of ſo abruptly leaving me; and having ſatisfied them, that the old witch had treated me courteouſly, I was permitted to accompany them, and examine the grounds of their alarm. They ſtartled at my incredulity; and as a proof of the exiſtence of witches, demanded, if they had not been frequently condemned and burnt. This was no proof to my mind, and I ſneered at their deluſions: they however both concluded that this Engliſhman, and all England, were as wicked, corrupt, and incredulous as the people of Paris: "and *they* did not believe either in witches or any thing elſe."

I might have ended this incomplete collection of ſuperſtitious deluſions, and fanatic extravagancies, by a brief recital of the fancied ſanctity, but real

debaſement, of the monks of *La Trappe*; but few Engliſh readers are convinced, that theſe holy Ciſtercians can ſecure a place in paradiſe by ſleeping upon boards, riſing at two o'clock to matins, and continuing their abject devotion, with little intermiſſion, till ſeven in the evening; and our Engliſh ladies will abominate the execrable and unſocial vow of eternal ſilence to each other. Though war is deteſtable, and except in defence, altogether injuſtifiable, the Engliſh philoſopher will, perhaps, applaud the ſpirit and diſcernment of the Engliſh ſoldiers, who once ravaged and burnt this den of brutes; and ſince, even in modern times, their ceremonies and cuſtoms ſhocked humanity, he will bleſs the hour, which made their houſe deſolate, and after which they never completely returned to the ancient ſevere *regime*.

Having

Having now finiſhed my relation of the abſurdities, practiſed by the catholic people, and of the impoſitions, by which the prieſts daily delude the ſenſes of their followers, I ſhall conclude their follies and deceit, by the pious fraud of a Jew, in the neighbourhood of Ratiſbon, as it was told to me by an intelligent native of Como. " John Schenk, although a Jew of ſevere morals, and, in general, ſtrictly ſcrupulous and attentive to the precepts of the divine law, had been ſo urged by his paſſions, that in contempt of the decalogue, he 'coveted his neighbour's daughter.' This ſinner, wicked in the imaginations of the heart, and intent upon the moſt efficacious method of accompliſhing his ſinful purpoſe, reſolved to practiſe the impious deceit of a divine miſſion; and having, in the night, deſcended, by the chimney, into the adjoining room of the fair Jeweſs,

and with a few preparatory knocks at the wainſcot, which, I preſume, and the Jews believed, were from the hand of the Lord, he thrice repeated the joyous meſſage. 'Hail! hail! thou bleſſed amongſt women! moſt favoured of ———: I am a meſſenger, ſent from heaven, and I bring thee good tidings of great joy—thou ſhalt conceive the Meſſiah of Iſrael;' and this wretch dared to add, 'by John Schenk.' Theſe words he, in like manner repeated a ſecond night; the holy virgin bluſhed belief of the divine preference; and having acquainted her father and mother of the angel's deſcent, ſhe, with them, anxiouſly, but with a due and diſtant reſpect, waited in the fair one's bed-chamber, till the third call. John Schenk, in the pious diſcharge of the office of the angel Gabriel, amorouſly repeated the final ſummons. The maid, and the old dotards,

dotards, with hearts full of joy, inſtantly communicated the glorious tidings of the Meſſiah; and the elders of the people conſulted on the *natural* means of his procreation, and in their minds anticipated the conſequent happineſs of reſtoring the Jewiſh nation to the land of Canaan, their honours, and power. Deeply impreſſed with the ſanctity of marriage, they reſolved, that John Schenk ſhould be thus united to the virgin, and from their *legalized* joys, they hoped a Meſſiah might be born, worthy of his ſpiritual father. But this unnatural Jew refuſed the alliance of holy matrimony; daring to preach in a ſynagogue of the people, the heretical, and impious doctrines of ſome modern ſpeculatiſts, he inſiſted, that

" Love, light as air, at ſight of human ties,
" Spreads its ſoft wings, and in a moment flies;"

and

and for his holy labours, he modeſtly claimed a remuneration of thirteen thouſand florins. The demand was exorbitant; but the hopes of giving a Lord, and Meſſiah to the earth, determined the elders to acquieſce; and after a ſham kind of marriage, ſuch as ſatisfied the ſcrupulous mind, and viſionary ideas of John Schenk, and with tabrets and harps, dancing men and dancing women, and by the melodious recital of the tender and voluptuous ſongs of Solomon, the amorous huſband was incited to 'haſte to the mountain of myrrh, and the hill of frankincenſe, until the day break, and the ſhadows flee away.'

"The fame of the union ſpread in every direction of the earth; the ſcattered Jews rejoiced at the approach of the nativity; and numerous deputations of holy men were ſent to hail the

the Meſſiah. From Spain and the adjacent parts of Germany, the Hebrews flocked into the highly-favoured city, the German Bethlehem; and ſome Jews, who piouſly came from Poland and Ruſſia, were believed, even by the chriſtians, to be the 'wiſe men of the eaſt, laden with treaſures,' impatient to 'preſent unto him gifts, gold, and frankincenſe and myrrh.' All waited in ſilent expectation: and the credulous matrons, who adminiſtered to the natural neceſſities of the mother, and had perhaps, ſipped too deeply of the holy caudle, were tumultuouſly crowding from the bed-chamber, to announce the joyous birth. But this ill-fated child, whatever poets may imagine of 'the luſty ſtealth of nature,' had been engendered ''twixt ſleep and wake;' and the women and prieſts, the young, the old, and the whole diſappointed crowd,

ſeeing

ſeeing the Meſſiah was a female, loudly ſwore, the ſpirit was a blaſphemous impoſtor: but John Schenk had wiſely eluded the vengeance of the deceived Jews, and may now drag out his miſerable and impious exiſtence in the republic of France."

By the few preceding pages, it will appear wonderful, that a people renowned for their diſcernment, ſhould have ſo long continued blinded, and ſubmiſſive to the intereſts of the church; and though the miniſters of this country have lately conjured up a violent ſtorm againſt the French nation, and wiſh to effect, by the force of arms, the reſtoration of royalty, and ſuperſtitious ceremonies, few people, who conſider their general grounds of diſcontent, or the particular abuſes, practiſed in catholic countries under the name of religion, though they may lament the exceſſes,

exceſſes, can blame the French people for reſiſting the dominion of the church. The Engliſh ſubjects are every moment importuned to admire and revere the glorious works of our anceſtors—to reſpect that liberty, guaranteed to us by a conſtitution, the wiſdom of ages, cemented by the nobleſt blood of the country; but the modern alarmiſt forgets, that for that liberty, we are indebted to the exertions of our forefathers, whoſe haughty ſpirits ſpurned at the lately renewed doctrines of indefeaſible right, and the more odious claims of the papal hierarchy. Could their ſhades reviſit this land of *freedom*, they would ſtand aghaſt at the alterations of the manners and tempers of the Engliſh people. Could they believe, that the deareſt rights of Britons are trampled upon with impunity?—that when the Habeas Corpus is ſuſpended by a corrupt majority

jority of the houſe of commons, and their countrymen impriſoned for many months, and then acquitted, or diſmiſſed, without redreſs—the people of England applaud the government, and miniſters, who exerciſe this legalized tyranny? Could thoſe ſacred names, who ſuffered martyrdom under the bloody catholic Mary, or who were victims in a thouſand various ſhapes to the inexorable authority of the Vatican, and by the commands of papal ſatellites, be perſuaded, that the Engliſh nation are now fighting, under the banners of darkneſs and ſuperſtition, to impede the progreſs of light and philoſophy?—that an Engliſh regiment of horſe, though deluded heretics, protect the perſon, and capital of the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, and are daily inſulted, in their unnatural duty, by fanatic and ignorant Romans? Can we wonder, that after ſuch unnatural alliances,

alliances, the Britiſh ſoldiers, whoſe reaſon abominates images, proceſſions, and hoſts, ſhould plunder the churches of their ſaints and reliques; and that the holy tapers, which had lately adorned the altars of fanaticiſm, ſhould be profanely, but more uſefully, applied to light the tents of our ſoldiery? Will our poſterity believe, that, in this enlightened period of the eighteenth century, the clergy of England, wilfully miſconſtruing the divine precepts of peace, and the chriſtian code, urge their hearers to the continuation of this murderous, unjuſt, and unneceſſary war, and in diſtant imitation of the prieſts of La Vendèe*, promiſe the wretched

* Throughout the republic of France, the refractory prieſts laboured inceſſantly to revive a ſpirit of fanaticiſm, and to plunge the whole country into the ancient monarchical and eccleſiaſtic deſpotiſm; and unfortunately in La Vendèe, they did ſucceed to light up the flame of civil diſcord.

wretched victims, the glories, and the rewards of paradiſe? And that in order to impede the progreſs of light, and to maintain themſelves in their exalted miniſtry, combining with haughty ariſtocrats, ſome have diſcouraged donations to weekly and Sunday ſchools, which had been ſupported by the profane benevolence of the laity?

The proteſtant clergy have united with the hierarchy of Rome, to oppreſs the liberties of man; and ſhould this war be favourable to the allied powers, the people of England may expect the revival of civil and religious

cord. Incenſe was profuſely burnt—lamps and candles were devoutly increaſed in the churches of the ſuperſtitious Poitou—the miraculous images, and the ſacred hoſt, in ſplendid proceſſions, invited to murder—and the weak people were convinced, that they ſhould enjoy, becauſe promiſed by their prieſts, the crown of martyrdom, and the bleſſings of paradiſe.

gious inquiſitions, an influx of catholic prieſts, and perhaps of holy reliques, and gold and ſilver deities. We declaim, againſt the immoral and irreligious practices of our neighbours; and every Britiſh ear was ſhocked at the enthuſiaſm of Frenchmen, who ſwelled the triumphal proceſſion of liberty, when the beautiful miſtreſs of Hebert, in robes of ſpotleſs purity, and with the emblems of virtue, was conducted through the ſtreets of Paris, to conſecrate the ſtatue of the ſovereign people in the place of the revolution. But if this is a ſubject of abhorrence, we ſhould conſider alſo, that the fineſt images, or pictures of the female ſaints, even of the holy Mary, were originally deſigned by the ſculptor or painter, for the repreſentations of his *miſtreſs*; and that therefore the moſt devout people of the earth, the immaculate catholics, frequently pay religious adoration to a ———

Fortified,

Fortified, as the catholic religion is, with ſpiritual and temporal terrors, ſtrong as its champions may ſuppoſe it on account of its antiquity, and the habitual reverence of ages, the whole ſyſtem would moulder before the antiquity of the religions of Aſia, and the faith of the Aſiatics. "Have not all ages believed it?"—but can this be eſteemed a proof, ſufficiently ſtrong to an enlightened mind? becauſe the Chineſe nobles ſay, and the people univerſally believe, that their prophet Rooſi, or Lilaokiun, was born, after twenty-one years of parturition, and that Confucius was ſurrounded, on his natal day, by celeſtial muſic—that after the ſhort lapſe of ſix years, he had acquired the ſtature of man, and the gravity of age—that at the age of fifteen, he was converſant in the various knowledge of philoſophy and literature—or becauſe he was married at the early maturity of twenty, will any perſon

conſider theſe facts, (even admitting them as facts) as proofs of the divine miſſion of theſe Oriental prophets? I believe not: but they muſt admit, that it would be as dangerous to deny theſe ſacred truths within the empire of China, as to doubt that the night-ſtool of the Grand Lama, after the previous operation of fire, and with ſome degree of congelation, when worn about the neck, did not immediately operate, as a charter of nobility, and enable the proud and voluptuous courtier to propagate his lazy and ennobled breed to the thouſandth generation. Perhaps the prieſts of China, the bramins of Indoſtan, or even the noble theocratic government of Thibet would allow the inexplicability of their religious or civil inſtitutions; but like the many ſectaries of the chriſtian ſyſtem, they would haſtily reply, that theſe holy myſteries

are

are above the finite capacity and reaſon of man;—that ſomething more is meant, than meets the eye.

The chriſtian interpreters, arrogating to the compoſer of their moral laws a pre-eminence of wiſdom, will admit no compariſon with other ſyſtems; but, as theſe interpreters are prieſts, they may not wiſh to expoſe the doctrines of that religion, which inſtructs the clergy "to live by their own labour—to be neither ambitious or vain;" and many of the lazy herd of monks, whoſe wants are all anticipated, will ſlowly believe, that "to plough and cultivate the earth, and water it with running ſtreams, are actions moſt acceptable to God;" or that the pious labours of "increaſing vegetation, and living beings," are the firſt duties of our nature.

Prieſts

Prieſts are everywhere egotiſts; their admonitions are intended to ſupport the intereſts of their order; and when they do inſtruct their followers, the inſtructions invariably tend to augment their own power. The ſacred Mufti of the Turkiſh empire, the clergy of Europe, and perhaps the Magi of Perſia themſelves, who are obligated to obey the *revealed* commands of Zoroaſter, are equally negligent in the performance of the moſt ſacred duties; and as their temporal eſtabliſhments, created in nights of ignorance, will moulder and decay before the ſun of reaſon, they will never ſeriouſly endeavour to "*enlighten the people.*"

CHAP. II.

ENTHUSIASM.

THOSE nations, which ſince the eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity we have affected to call pagans, heathens, idolaters, and infidels, though they made continual wars upon each other, always treated with indulgence their religious prejudices, and never attempted to extirpate a race of people, becauſe they adored the Author of the univerſe, under different attributes, or with different ceremonies. In the wars, which the Perſians and Greeks waged againſt each other, or the neighbouring nations, there does not appear any intention

intention of interrupting the eſtabliſhed religion: when Xerxes invaded Greece, he did not deſtroy the ancient gods of the country he paſſed through; nor did Alexander, in the intoxicating moments of conqueſt, extinguiſh the ſacred and immortal fire. The Romans, though proud of their name, and though they everywhere changed the government of the kings and tyrants, whoſe people their victorious arms ſubdued, into their republican and municipal form, never imagined the execrable crime of forcing the nations to worſhip the gods of Rome, and leave their own penates: on many nations they conferred the rights and immunities of Roman citizens, and admitted the free importation of all the gods, and ſuperſtitions of the vanquiſhed. The horrors of war were thus, in ſome meaſure, diminiſhed; and when conquered, the people, enjoying

their prejudices, peaceably ſubmitted to the will of the victor.

One unſocial, obſtinate race of men, whoſe united ſtrength was increaſed by a long ſojournment in the deſerts of Arabia, and whoſe holy lawgiver, frightening their infant minds into an unnatural and implicit ſubmiſſion, deprived them of the uſe of reaſon, at length ſallied forth, under the command of a ſacred murderer, to conquer the land of Canaan, and extirpate the peaceable inhabitants. Theſe people, impiouſly calling themſelves "God's choſen people," when they departed from the land of Egypt, plundering the natives of their gold and jewels, juſtified the immoral act by the "command of God;" and finding in the deſert the natural production of manna, they were perſuaded it came from the hand of the Lord. The common

common appearances of the ſandy deſert were eaſily magnified, by their artful ruler, into miracles; and after receiving from a mountain (which they were forbid to aſcend whilſt Moſes was engraving) two tablets of laws, they haſtened to extirpate the men and gods of the cultivated land. Since their times, wars of extermination have been too frequent among the people, who deduce the holy doctrines of their faith from the Moſaic origin; and another nation, though they do not follow, but only reverently ſpeak of this choſen people, have too faithfully imitated this bloody example.

We abhor the wild enthuſiaſm of the Tartars, who in honour of their God, and their king, plundered and ravaged the fair plains of Indoſtan, maſſacred its inhabitants, and polluted their pure and virtuous temples with blood; but

as pious catholics, we admire that holy fervour, that religious enthuſiaſm, which ſtimulated the chriſtians of Europe to engage in the cruſades, and hardened their hearts againſt the infidels, whom the fortune of war had put in poſſeſſion of the earthly Jeruſalem. We ſhudder at the atrocity of that ſacred, and moſt auguſt majeſty, the Empreſs of all the Ruſſias, becauſe ſhe piouſly ordered her tender-hearted ſoldiers to relieve the chriſtian earth of twenty-ſeven thouſand Turkiſh infidels at Iſmail, and of fourteen thouſand Poliſh *atheiſts*, in the ſuburbs of Warſaw; and yet an heaven-born miniſter, though he lately dreaded her overgrown power, on the diſtant banks of the Dnieper, now ſolicits her royal and Imperial aſſiſtance, on the banks of the Rhine, againſt the victorious republicans of France.

The

The manners and characters of nations are as much ſubject to viciſſitude, as the fortunes and opinions of individuals. The holy chriſtian religion, which overturned the male and female deities of the Pagan world, which firſt civilized the barbarian invaders of the Roman empire, and afterwards turned the edges of their ſwords againſt each other, which could prompt its followers to extirpate or oppreſs the Jewiſh and Mahometan inhabitants of Europe, whoſe ſacred writings can ſupply ſome holy ſcraps of revelation, to juſtify the moſt baſe policy of man, the inquiſition, which could prompt miſſionaries to traverſe the deſerts and wilds of Africa and America, and the populous countries of Aſia, to convert the credulous minds of the ſavage, now by the profane reaſon of man, lies enchained, or gives no effectual reſiſ-

tance to the religious and political reformers of France.

The enthuſiaſm, which fortunately or unfo tunately for the peace and happineſs of mankind, now pervades the newly eſtabliſhed republic, does not partake of the dark unſocial frenzy, which has hitherto diſtinguiſhed the fanatic zeal of religioniſts. Amidſt the roaring of cannon, the modern Frenchman preſerves the natural gaiety of his country, and frequently terminates an hard-fought day with carouſels and dances. Though all the nations, or rather kings of Europe, combined to deſtroy the germ of liberty; and though one proud, black-eagled deſpot had penetrated with a numerous, well-appointed army, into the province of Champaigne, this gay people never interrupted the routine of

of pleaſures and amuſements. The Auſtrians and Pruſſians, and in later days, the Engliſh and Dutch, with their ſubſidiary legions, and the whole contingents of the German empire, the kingling of Sardinia, and the pious army of Spain, though ſupported by their eager fondneſs for royal government, and by the prayers, inceſſant, and many-tongued importunities of the Catholic, Proteſtant, Calviniſtic, and Lutheran prieſts to that God, whom human violence too frequently, but impiouſly baptizes the "God of battles," have not been able to make any impreſſion upon the enthuſiaſtic ardour of the French patriots, or re-eſtabliſh the holy ceremonies of the Roman clergy. France is, I believe, totally indifferent to all religions; but ſuch is the ſecret power of habitude, it would prefer the religion of its anceſtors, if the pious kings of the earth

did not endeavour to reſtore the abſurdities of the faith by the power of the ſword. Though the multitude are eaſily perſuaded to follow the caprice of their political and religious maſters, they partake very much of thoſe kindred animals, the *ſwine*, when an alteration is attempted by violence; and their ſtubbornneſs has prevailed in equal degrees, in the moſt civilized and moſt ſavage nations. Powerful as the prerogative of the Britiſh crown, the pious James could not, with all his gilded gifts, and emoluments of office, perſuade the people of England to accept the certain joys of paradiſe from the abſolving mouths of catholic confeſſors. The mighty power and numerous armies of the emperor Charles were alſo ſucceſsfully reſiſted by the obſtinate, and reformed ſpirit of a few petty princes and people, who fought, with the enthuſiaſm of liberty, for

for their religion and domeſtic comforts. Switzerland and Holland, though federal ſtates, frequently divided in their intereſts, and contemptible in the comparative greatneſs of population, fought through a long ſeries of years, againſt the diſcipline and fanatic zeal of the armies of their *lawful* maſters, and finally erected the edifice of liberty, civil and religious, upon the ruins of royalty and ſuperſtition. Yet Engliſhmen, though free themſelves, and becauſe enlightened, ſhould know the energies of a people, who unſheathed their ſwords in the cauſe of liberty, have vainly imagined, that twenty-five millions of people, determined to be free, would ſubmit to the diſciplined valour of the regiments of kings, and accept a royal maſter and religious guides, from the divine dictates of the *ſoi-diſants* ſub-delegates of heaven.

I have frequently obſerved the fiery zeal, and enthuſiaſm of that "armed nation," which, like electric fire, ran through every gradation of ſociety, which irritated the latent ſparks of courage in their youths, and recalled the remembrance of military glory in the peaceful boſoms of old age. "*Nous ſommes une nation militaire,*" fondly muttered by the old, was warmly received, and loudly echoed by the young; and they all believed, and ſubſequent events have convinced us, that France was impregnable to the armies of the deſpot princes of Germany.

At Château Thierry, in the ancient province of Champaigne, the fortune of a pedeſtrian ramble threw us into the company of ſome light-hearted Frenchmen, who were waſting the convivial hours of Sunday, in the adoration of Bacchus and the nation.

The

The ſudden entrance of two men, dreſſed in the habits of ſailors, and from our imperfect knowledge of the language, or the ruddineſs of our complexions, eaſily known to be foreigners, interrupted the converſation of the company. *La loi, la nation*, or the more important *aſſemblée nationale*, for a moment, bowed to curioſity; and a dead ſilence prevailed over the dear-loved garrulity of France. The cabaretier was commiſſioned to enquire our country; and he performed this intereſting duty with the politeneſs of a courtier. "I am afraid you have walked far to-day; you are fatigued;" and then turning to his inquiſitive open-mouthed gueſts, whiſpered, by his faith, that they were *de braves Garçons —quelles jambes pour la marche!* We were, in the ſame breath, ſtrong, handſome, well made, and would make noble ſoldiers; but Monſieur was alarmed

alarmed that *une auſſi belle taille* ſhould be thrown away on a ſhip. " *Meſſieurs, pardonnéz—vous êtes tous deux matelots, je crois?*" My companion replied yes; and added, we were Engliſhmen. The awful ſilence was now at an end: their curioſity was ſatisfied; political diſcuſſions were vociferouſly renewed, and ſome falſe compariſons were boldly made, and greedily ſwallowed by the company. The landlord ſtood ſome moments ſilent, with his eyes fixed upon us; and, though the orator of the houſe, made no obſervations upon France, or England. He was, however, collecting his forces, and ſuddenly throwing out both his hands, and opening his mouth, was commanding the ſilence of his gueſts, when his honeſt-faced wife, denying the company the immediate pleaſure of a democratic harangue, entered the room with a ragoût, and deſired " *Mon mari*"

mari" to attend theſe two Meſſieurs. He laid the cloath and forks; and as we were unprovided with knives, lent us his own, and borrowed another from a friend. Whilſt we were dining, he was alternately amuſing his company with "alehouſe" wit, and ſerving us with extreme attention. The gueſts were chiefly peaſants; and, amidſt his praiſes of the revolution, he loudly and frequently curſed the ſeigneur.

After ending our dinner, we drank to the health of our noiſy friends; and each ceremonious Frenchman anſwered us, by pulling off his hat. We had thus broken down the little barrier of formality; and the landlord, haſtily filling a bumper out of the bottle of his companions, brought it to us, *allons —trinquons—trinquons.* We filled our glaſſes: the peaſants pulled out their dirty white handkerchiefs, threw them over

over the left ſhoulder; and one, with uplifted glaſs, courteouſly ſaluted, '*à la nati Angloiſe*"—"*et Françoiſe*," quickly added the innkeeper; and we drank, "*à la nation Françoiſe*"—"*et Angloiſe*," vociferated the Frenchmen; and then, flouriſhing their handkerchiefs, and crying, *vive la nation*, danced round the table to the time and hum of *ça-ira*.

Theſe ebullitions of wine and liberty were ſoon ſucceeded by a converſation, noiſy and deſultory; each clubbed his word in praiſe of their legiſlators; and the landlord wiſhed to make a ſpeech upon the improvement of their condition, and upon the *beaux jours, qui ſuivront l'orage*. But every freeman was equally inclined to diſplay his oratorical powers; and the hoſt, though anxiouſly watching every moment's pauſe, found few opportunities of addreſſing

dreſſing the company. They were all agreed, that France was the moſt military nation of Europe; and England, (but here they became leſs noiſy and calm) was the lord of the ocean; and they all hoped, that France and England would form an alliance, *pour maintenir et ſoutenir* each other, and they would conquer the world.

I underſtood very little of the ſubjects of converſation, and frequently interrupted the attention of my companion to be informed of the incidents of this novel ſcene. Sometimes the moſt noiſy ſpeaker ſlowly repeated, for my inſtruction, the words he had laſt uttered; I was no wiſer of the general meaning; but as liberty was the moſt prominent word of their diſcourſe, I generally ſhouted, *vive la liberté*; and they all concluded, that however, as I underſtood " *la liberté, aſſûrement ce doit*

doit être un brave garçon." Upon taking our leave of theſe violent patriots, they all aroſe; and inſiſting we ſhould take the parting glaſs out of their bottle*, they ſincerely and loudly wiſhed theſe patriot Engliſh a good journey; and we returned their earneſt kindneſs by a ſincere deſire for the completion of the liberty, which they then ſo fondly cheriſhed.

We then deſcended farther into the town, where we met large parties parading along the banks of the river; and as we turned eaſtward to the bridge, were ſuddenly ſurprized by immenſe groups of people, collected into dances, by a diverſified diſplay of booths,

* I am aware, that formerly the French did not drink, what in England we call toaſts, and ſeldom indeed drank to the health of a friend, preſent or abſent; but, ſince the revolution of government, a very material change has taken place in their manners and cuſtoms.

booths, (as in a fair) and by the diſtant proſpect of the national guards of the diſtrict, at that moment forming into a ſquare battalion. This was on Sunday; and the men and women were in their beſt attire. The whitened houſes, the rolling river, and the thickſet muſquets and bayonets of the ſoldiery reflected the heat and piercing rays of the ſun: to us they were inſupportable: but the natural levity of the people, or the electrifying notes of the favourite air prevented them from feeling the inconvenient heat of the day. We gazed with ſilent wonder on the crowds of dancers; and though our dreſs was ſingular in a country place, no jealous patriot diſturbed our pleaſure. After paſſing the bridge, we ſat down under the ſhade of a long row of trees, and obſerved the national guards go through their military manœuvres.

I had

I had frequent opportunities of ſeeing the ſame enthuſiaſm irritate the calm and peaceable boſoms of women: and they never failed to encourage the men to conquer, or die for liberty. When the ſoldiers of the national guards were exerciſing, the women were generally collected; and their faint huzzas, or their preſence always animated the zeal of the citizens. Near Luneville, I travelled for two hours with a lively active *Citoyenne*, and her dear lover: they ſoon joined my company, and early enquired my country. I told them I was an Engliſhman, and that I had made a little tour to admire the bravery of the nation, and contemplate the bleſſings of the revolution. Her patriotiſm took fire upon my attachment to the nation, and to liberty; and ſhe applauded that ſpirit of adventure, which ſtimulated the brave and free Engliſh

to

to travel in my ſingular manner. I warmly expatiated upon the freedom and happineſs of my country, and lamented, that our liberty had coſt us the beſt blood and treaſures of our anceſtors. She conſoled herſelf with the happy events of the French revolution; and hoped, that the blood unhappily ſhed at Nancy, would be the laſt ſtain upon the manners of her country. The national guards, whom ſhe conſidered her fellow citizens, were, however, the braveſt of men, and the warmeſt patriots; and ſhe imputed the atrocity of that affair to that *bougre de Bouillé.* I admired, as much as ſhe did, the then bloodleſs revolution; but I was apprehenſive, that the numerous emigrants, both of nobles and clergy, the vaſt forces of the emperor, of Pruſſia, and the petty princes of the German empire, who claimed their eſtates and ſeignories in Alſace and Loraine,

Loraine, would unite and make a powerful and bloody attack upon the frontier; and that internal diſſenſions might contribute to aſſiſt their progreſs. Her fortitude, for a moment, forſook her; and ſhe ſeemed ſinking under the fancied weight of the danger. She plaintively replied, "*Cela eſt vrai;*" and ſeemed abſorbed in thought: ſhe ſoon recovered her ſpirits; and turning to her lover, ſhe animated his warlike ardour; and they both concluded that every Frenchman would be determined *à vaincre ou mourir.* For his part, he was ready to ſhed his blood in the ſervice of his country; and ſhe was convinced, that if the men were irreſolute, the women would fight, and die for their liberty. She preſſed him to declare his intentions; and he then loudly ſwore, that if the Germans ſhould invade the country, he would fly to the frontiers, and that ——

and ——— would do the ſame. "Your nation," ſaid ſhe, turning to me, "will not league with the curſed Germans;" I hoped not: and then returning to her lover, ſhe aſſured him, ſhe would never ſpeak to him if he did not go to fight; and for herſelf, ſhe ſaid, ſhe would not ſurvive the liberty of France.

Though the allied powers muſt have known the enthuſiaſm, and mighty force of the French nation, and the danger of advancing too far into an hoſtile country, their well appointed armies penetrated a conſiderable diſtance into France, and by the treachery of the comandant of Longwy, and the municipality of Verdun, took poſſeſſion of thoſe two cities; but deceived by the mighty promiſes of the emigrant nobility, not finding the people ready to join the royal ſtandard, or ſupply them

them with proviſions, and no longer aſſiſted by the counter-revolutionary co-operation of the king, they fled before the gathering armies of the patriots. Flanders, Brabant, and Liege were immediately occupied by the victorious army of Dumourier; and the lateneſs and inclemency of the ſeaſon alone prevented them from planting the national colours on the weſtern banks of the Rhine. In the winter, the army was diſorganized; and its numbers were reduced by death, furloughs of abſence, and by the conſiderable draughts of men, who were ſent to co-operate in the general's favourite ſcheme of the conqueſt of Holland. The Prince of Cobourg aſſumed the command of the Imperial forces, at Cologne; and falling upon the French cantonments along the banks of the Roer, repulſed the republican armies, acroſs the Meuſe. Terror and diſmay now

ſeized

ſeized the French; and even the preſence of the mighty Dumourier was inſufficient to re-animate their ardour. The vanquiſhed troops took ſhelter under the guns of Condé and Valenciennes; and being repulſed in two unavailing attacks, in the woods of Freſne and Saint Amand, and afterwards driven from the hill of Famars, they continued inactive in the camp of Cæſar, till theſe two frontier towns had ſurrendered to the arms of the allies.

About a month after the capture of Valenciennes, I viſited that ruined city, and, abſorbed in melancholy contemplation, walked over the ruins of the buildings, and on the approaches of the beſiegers. The vaſt excavations, which the exploſions of the balls of compreſſion had occaſioned, the tottering angles of the baſtions, and the

entire ruin of the ſuburb of Marli, reminded me of the chaos of the poets, to which the ſallow and ſickly countenances of the remaining inhabitants afforded little relief. Though they bowed to the ſoldiery of the emperor, and in exterior profeſſed an attachment to royalty, their hearts fondly cheriſhed the then diſtant hope of being re-united to their country. They were everywhere ſecretly or openly ſinging the airs of liberty; and if a ſavage whiſkered Hungarian interrupted the pleaſures of the reverie, they exclaimed they were ſinging the contre-carmagnol, the contre hymne, or the ariſtocrat *ça-ira*. With many I indulged the pleaſures of patriotiſm; and they all preferred the iron-bloody revolutionary government of France, to the tender, and ſoothing mercies of the emperor. The guillotine, they admitted, was deſtroyed; but one, pointing

pointing to the reſt of muſquets before the grand guard, ſilently ſhrugged and ſhuddered at the equally terrific puniſhment of their royal maſters.

I left this ill-fated city with ſenſations of woe; and, for ſome hours, though I had taken the precaution of herbs, and wore alſo a ſilken bag of camphire, which I was adviſed to carry with me, to preſerve my health from the infectious air of the town, the ſmell of blood, and the duſt of the ruins, continued to irritate my olfactory nerves, and parch my throat. We ſlept in the village of Brouay; and, the next morning, purſued our journey to the city of Mons. We met with many of the Bourgeois, who had collected their little all, and were then reſiding in the neighbouring villages, or retiring more diſtant from this ſcene of murder and ruin, to breathe

the pure air of the country. With a woman, who was removing her goods from the city, we journeyed to the village of Gemappe; and though ſhe had loſt her property, and endangered her health, by the obſtinate reſiſtance of the patriots, ſhe moſt heartily would undergo the ſame fatigue, if her countrymen ſhould fortunately lay ſiege to the city.

We left this patriotic Frenchwoman to aſcend the famous hill of Gemappe, and examine the remains of the different redoubts, which were impetuouſly attacked, and finally carried by the enthuſiaſtic valour of the French national guards. The poſitions were ſtrong; and the Imperial cannon, placed at various elevations on the hill, muſt have made large avenues among the French battalions, which advanced along the plain to the villages of Quarignan,

rignan, and Gemappe, before they could fight on equal terms with muſquets, or with bayonets. The perforated walls of the villages, though the ſight would have been dreadful to a peaceable mind, made little impreſſion upon us, who had ſo lately ſurveyed the ruins and conflagrations of Valenciennes. We, however, admired that dreadful energy, which could force through every obſtacle of art and nature; and contemplated, with greater aſtoniſhment, the valour of the Imperial troops, who afterwards repulſed the haughty victors from the neighbourhood of the Rhine.

Having arrived at an early hour, at the city of Mons, we walked round the walls, which, in ſome places, were well populated with wounded ſoldiers, gladly fled from the infectious hoſpitals to breathe the pure air of the atmoſphere.

We had before ſeen the French priſoners, both healthy and wounded; and they preſerved a ſerene countenance under the double misfortune, and ſwore, when releaſed, they would fight again for liberty. But the cauſe of kings, of the catholic and proteſtant religion, did not exhilarate the minds of the Auſtrian, Heſſian, and Hanoverian ſoldiers, who were here entruſted to the care of their own ſurgeons; and to our queſtions, if they would joyfully ſerve again, many gravely moved their heads.

When we returned to the inn, we accidentally joined the company of an old man, his daughter, and two ſons; and as is invariably the caſe, our converſation inſtantly turned upon the events of the war. The two young men ſoon left us; and Madamoiſelle, having repeated Valenciennes, with a plaintive

plaintive tone of voice, I took the liberty of enquiring, if Monſieur did not come from that unhappy town. The young lady eagerly anticipated her more tardy father in an anſwer to my queſtion; and he told me, that by the bombardment, he had loſt his whole warehouſe of cambrics, and had now ſold the little remnant of property, and the ruined ſite of his houſe *, and had fled into purer air to preſerve himſelf and family from the dangerous conſequences of infection. He ſeemed much agitated, and very naturally lamented the loſs of his fortune. The gazette of Bruſſels, which illuſtrated and magnified the ſucceſſes

* I ſhould not have given credit to this aſſertion of the old man, nor ſhould I have thought the inhabitants of that ruined city would have ſo ſoon made bargains of property, had I not ſeen in the Grande Place many bills ſtuck up againſt the walls, advertiſing houſes and gardens, ſome entire, others half ruined, to the public *à vendre*.

of the emperor, and depreciated the valour of the Carmagnols, more than the renowned impartial True Briton of England, and to which only he had acceſs, detailed nothing, either of military proweſs, or of civil regulations, to encourage his hope, or diminiſh his ſorrows. It affords a joy to the ſenſible mind to adminiſter relief to a brother in diſtreſs; and though the precipitant zeal of Engliſh miniſters had provoked the aggreſſion of France, and a declaration of war, I did not ſo far participate in the ideal pleaſures of patriotiſm, as to refuſe to pour into his afflicted breaſt the balm of comfort. Prefacing my little ſpeech with the aſſurance, that I was an Engliſhman, attached to ſincerity and truth, I informed him of the mighty preparations and requiſitions which the convention had ordered to be made throughout the republic: that they had decreed an indem-

indemnification to the ſufferers in the fortified towns and villages, which had been bombarded, or plundered by the allies; and that a French gentleman, whom I the day before had converſed with near Valenciennes, and who, as conductor of the ſpies, muſt be well informed of the ſtate of the French troops, had aſſured me, that the whole army of Houchard was in motion to fall upon the Engliſh before Dunkirk, and break through the line of poſts from the Lys to the ſea.

At this news, the countenance of the old man was illumed with joy; and his daughter, on tip-toe, ſmiled moſt benignantly on the ſincere Engliſhman. They wiſhed—but doubted; I gave them *ma parole d'honneur*, and ſubſequent events muſt have convinced them of my veracity. The ſupper was nearly ready; and I handed,

with the father's permiſſion, the enlivened Madamoiſelle into the *ſalle à manger*. She was pretty; and I lamented, that ſo much beauty had been incloſed in the walls of Valenciennes. —Monſieur! and ſhe piteouſly told me, ſhe had been ſtifled in the ſoûterrains for forty days, and had not once left her wretched refuge in all that time: that her father, or her brothers ſometimes went out in the cooleſt moments of the bombardment, to buy bread, with which they haſtily returned. When they were away, it was the moſt painful age of torment and ſuſpenſe; "but when they returned," ſhe here lifted up her hands and eyes to heaven, "what a moment of tranſport!" I congratulated her upon her fortunate eſcape; and that though ſhe had been interred, ſhe had had the *divine* fortune to riſe again. Her wretched and tender tone ſuddenly forſook her; and

ſhe,

ſhe, with French vivacity, interrupted my ſympathy: ſhe had ariſen, but after a longer and more dreadful burial, ſhe ſaid, "*que celui même de notre ſeigneur.*" The entrance of her brothers ſuſpended the converſation; and ſhe eagerly repeated, with ſome little exaggerations, the joyful news I had communicated to her father. They doubted more than him; and, by their dejected countenances, confeſſed themſelves unworthy of the rank of freemen. The intelligence had ſo gratified the old man, that he could not forbear relating it to a Scotchman, in the Auſtrian ſervice; and he, and an haughty Prince of the German empire, though poor enough to ſit down to a ſhilling ordinary, and a lieutenancy in an Auſtrian regiment, maliciouſly endeavoured to blaſt his fond dreams of happineſs and li-

berty*. When the officers left the *table d'hôte*, the father and the daughter came round the Engliſhman, demanded a repetition of the news, aſked a thouſand queſtions concerning the actual ſtate of the war, and would hardly permit me to repoſe my limbs, fatigued by a long day's march.

Two days previous to the laſt agreeable rencontre, after we had ſurveyed the wretched and ſqualid countenances of the inhabitants of Condé, who had endured a long and painful famine, during the blockade, we accidentally,

* To me, however, the Scotchman confeſſed the hardy and enthuſiaſtic valour of the French; and though they had not the diſciplined ſteadineſs of the Imperial ſoldiers, he feared, their numbers would finally deſtroy the flower of his fellow ſoldiers, or that time would unite the ſteady valour of diſcipline to the natural impetuoſity of the Carmagnols.

dentally, at the village of Freſne, joined the ſociety of ſome neighbouring peaſants, who had there collected to divert a long ſummer evening by a feſtive dance. They alſo had lately ſuffered by the ravages of war; and the waſte of the inundation was ſtill viſible in the village. But the ſlender remains of the peaſants had here collected to amuſe the females; and as the young men had retreated with the republican armies, the women, who were in proportion of ten to one man, appeared overjoyed at the youthful appearance of two foreigners. We danced with theſe gay ruſtics; and though on all ſides ſurrounded with the devaſtations and havoc of war, they attempted, by dances, and muſic, and ſinging, to paſs away their evils. We found the peaſantry extremely infuriated with the mania of democracy; and we impatiently inſiſted, that the muſician

muſician ſhould play *ça-ira*. Our partners all ſaid no; it would provoke the ſoldiery; and when my companion, who propoſed to play it himſelf, thought the name of an Engliſhman would protect him, even in this ſeditious act, the women, though they were half inclined, left the *contre-dance*, and ſat down. We then yielded to their deſires; but profeſſed our attachment to the cauſe of liberty; and when the inn-keeper came in, and was told this tale of indiſcretion, he looked fond upon us, ſqueezed our hands, and called us *mes braves enfants*. The approach of the evening made us anxious to depart; but we were eaſily prevailed upon to join another dance; and when our acquieſcence was known to the whole room, three old men ſtarted up, and with the young women, (perhaps with their grand daughters) ſmiled, and diſplayed the active feats of youth,

youth, with the reverent ſilvery locks of age.

At the city of Straſbourg, I had the fortune to witneſs the election of a national repreſentative; and becauſe I was an Engliſhman, I was placed in the honourable poſt of the head of the table. Their hearts overflowed with joy and liberty; they read eagerly, or liſtened with attention to the fair propoſals of the candidates; and after the ſlender allowance of a choppin a man, the electors returned to the hall, where the votes were given, or went to the different parts of the town, to read the law, which is poſted up for the inſtruction of the meaneſt citizen. The ſobriety of conduct, their temperate reaſons for electing, or rejecting ſuch and ſuch candidates, the general avidity to learn the modern regulations and laws, decreed by the national aſſembly,

aſſembly, and ſanctioned by the king, made me form ſome compariſons, much againſt the propriety and reaſon of my own countrymen.

In the cloſe of the evening, I walked in the ſquares, and upon the ramparts; every part was full of the ſoldiery, inſtructing the Bourgeois in the uſe of artillery, muſquets, and ſabres. The one inſtructed with pleaſure, and the other learnt with docility. There were ſome hundred varied groups, who all appeared equally happy. But an apparent contradiction was viſible in all this intercourſe of mutual benefits; the cannon and mortars were pointed to the town, and the ſoldiers lived in barracks. In the city of Milan, where the Imperial ſoldiers live in the caſtle, and are kept diſtinct from the inhabitants, they contract oppoſite habits, and are more ready to ſupport the abſolute will,

will, and capricious commands of their maſter; but here as they aſſociate daily with the men of the town, they preſerve, and are matured in, the ſame ſentiments, and their intereſts are inſeparable from the people.

One objection is generally made to liberty, that it is always accompanied with bloodſhed; but to thoſe blind ſlaves, who ſo fondly cheriſh their golden chains, we may anſwer, that the firſt eſtabliſhment of a monarchical or ariſtocratical government, is equally founded in partial oppreſſion, and cemented by blood. The one oppreſſes the multitude; the other deſtroys the privileges and exemptions of the few. But as in periods of popular revolutions, the friends of mankind invariably meet with great oppoſition from the intereſts and paſſions of former courtiers, and as this colliſion generally

rally irritates the enthuſiaſm, and rouſes the ſpirit of the multitude, much blood is too often ſhed before the public mind returns to calmneſs and peace. The friends of the former tyranny are joined by the armies of ſome neighbouring deſpots; and the exceſſes, and revolutionary and harſh means, which the new government is obliged to employ to repel an invading enemy, are by them conſidered as the inſeparable concomitants of change, and the bitter fruits of reſiſting lawful authority. England alone, who ſhould pride itſelf upon the invaluable ſtrength of its inſular ſituation, has alone been permitted to eſtabliſh its independance, and popular liberties, without ſuffering under the diſmal ravages of a foreign enemy *. Switzerland, though divided into

* The two petty invaſions, made by the lineal heirs of James, and ſupported by ſo ſmall an handful of French troops, do not deſerve to be claſſed as wars made againſt our liberties.

into many petty ſtates, whoſe aggregate population did not then exceed one million of ſouls, and whoſe remote example could not ſeduce the people of the mighty kingdoms, was on all ſides attacked by the deſpots of thoſe times. The people were excited into a ſtate of frenzy; and the energies of liberty ſucceeded to repulſe and humble the haughty invaders of their country. But their victories were purchaſed by profuſe ſtreams of blood: numerous monuments are erected to perpetuate the glories of their anceſtors, and animate their ſons to ſimilar feats of courage, if any power dares to attack their liberty. One field, near Baſle, is ſtill called the field of blood: the wine which ſprings from it, though ſour to the taſte, is dearer to the Swiſs, than the beſt produce of Champaigne, or Burgundy; and at Morat is piouſly preſerved, by the cantons of Berne and Fribourg,

Fribourg, an immenſe heap of bones, which once belonged to the routed army of the Duke of Burgundy.

Liberty, which blanched the tyrant's cheek, cannot create new vices of its own. The exceſſes, which every feeling mind muſt lament, and which have unhappily ſtained "the ſnowy mantle" of freedom, were borrowed from the cruelties, practiſed under the regular government of France, or are imputable to the aggreſſion of the allies, whoſe numerous armies, on all ſides, aſſailed the frontiers of France. When I travelled in that ſince diſtracted country, the executions were rare; but whenever I was ſhocked at the recital of the death of theſe wretched victims, or pitied their fate, they palliated their barbarities by the former cruelties, exerciſed under the old regime. At Straſbourg particularly, where

where I lamented the burning of three ariſtocrat generals, the outrageous fury of the mob had inſinuated itſelf into the boſoms of the little boys; and one juſtified this atrocious proceeding by the vague charge, that they were not friends of liberty; and a woman, who in every thing elſe diſplayed a benevolence of diſpoſition, alledged for an excuſe, that one of theſe victims of popular rage was not a Frenchman. Hundreds, they all ſaid, died by the rack; but here three only were executed by the ſovereign people. I was ſhocked at their cruelties, and more ſo at their juſtifications; but the rigid patriots had preſerved the memory of this wicked outrage, by hanging up a miſerably-daubed picture of it in their houſes.

To this town we had deſired our friends to direct their letters; and finding

finding that my companion, from whom I had ſeparated, had paſſed this town before the letters had arrived, and knowing that he muſt be diſtreſſed for want of money, I inquired of the civil *Conſignè de la porte de l' Hôpital*, how I could procure any information of him. He was, indeed, polite, before he knew my country; but when he ſaw by my paſſeport, which I preſented to him, that I was an Engliſhman, he redoubled his attention. At eight o'clock, he ſaid, he ſhould ſhut up his gate, and then he would call upon me at the inn, and go with me to the *Hotel de ville*. He was punctual to his appointment; and to my expreſſions of gratitude, he returned, that as he knew all the Engliſh were attached to liberty, and the cauſe of the nation, he could not do enough to ſerve them. As we thence walked to the *Grande Place*, he ſpoke

with the warmeſt enthuſiaſm, of the happy proſpects of his country, the amelioration of the condition of mankind, and of the divine decree, which prohibited wars of offence. I contraſted the different appearance diſplayed in a town in England, on the election of a member of parliament, with that happy, gay, ſober countenance, which the electors that day aſſumed in the city of Straſbourg. His heart was enraptured, when I acknowledged the ſuperiority of his countrymen in this particular; and with his hands uplifted, and his head ſtretched out to heaven, he hoped, that France would, in imitating its liberties, refine upon our bad cuſtoms. I afterwards invited him to take ſome wine with me; but it was not wine, or any thing elſe he could get, that made him attentive to an Engliſhman. He wiſhed the two nations might form an alliance;

alliance; and he was ſure they loved one another dearly. Not wiſhing to contradict his fond belief, I did not inſinuate a word of the prejudices of the vaſt majority of my countrymen.

I invariably obſerved the ſame favourable ſentiments towards the Engliſh nation in the north, eaſtern, and ſouthern provinces of France; and they all lamented that England ſhould have ſo long, excluſively, enjoyed the bleſſings of liberty. At the village, or bourg of Condrieu, on the right banks of the Rhône, where we reſted for the night, I enjoyed the lively ſociety of five or ſix Frenchmen, with the Dragoon of Penthievre, and the Greek of Corfu, whom I have elſewhere mentioned; and as we were all diſpoſed to merriment, we continued our jollity till a late hour of the night. Converſations on liberty, in which the

Greek

Greek bore a very conſiderable part, and diſplayed ſtrong marks of erudition and philoſophy. National ſongs and dances made the hours fly with great quickneſs. The nation ſounded through the houſe, and was re-echoed to us from another room, and the kitchen. One Frenchman indulged our party with a ſong, to which the ſuſpected loyalty of the troops of the line had given birth;

Que tout ſoldat François fidelle
Serve en le jour la Nation, et le roi.

and at each chorus, we danced round the table with joined hands. Bravo! bravo! frequently repeated, rewarded the muſical labours of the ſinger, and ſtimulated him to greater exertion. The chorus was now, alſo, ſung in the kitchen; and a citizen, in the robes of a prieſt, who ſtood at the door, moved the muſcles of his face in uni-

ſon with the tune. At the laſt verſe,* he ſeemed much convulſed; but at that diſtance, and as he was in the dark, I could not diſtinctly diſcover, whether with pleaſure or pain. This verſe was loudly encored, and on the ſinger repeating it, the prieſt burſt in, joined his hands, and danced round, amidſt the moſt joyous peals of Bravo! bravo!—He took a glaſs of wine and departed, every heart warmly admiring his patriotic ſpirit: but one of our companions, wiſhing to depreſs the mercury of our ſouls, malicioufly inquired of the landlord if he was not a *Curè*; and being anſwered in the affirmative, remarked, that he had gained

* Vil corrupteurs! Vains Hypocrites!
Qui refuſez de prêter le ſerment,
Vous gemirez long-tems du juſte châtiment,
Que merite votre conduite.
Cho. Ou bien chantez, vive la Nation,
Vive la loi, vive le Roi!
La Nation! la loi! et le roi!

gained by the revolution, and that his patriotiſm was the effect of intereſt. The night did not paſs without obſervations upon the political connections of ſtates; and they all hoped, that the National Aſſembly would endeavour to make an alliance with England. I know not whence it proceeded; but in every part of France, and in every company, a ſimilar wiſh was warmly expreſſed. I frequently hinted at the prejudices of the Engliſh people, and was as frequently anſwered, "but we are no longer ſlaves, you would now treat with freemen."

Theſe, and other proofs of the affection, with which the French were impreſſed towards Engliſhmen, on account of their liberty, have often produced diſagreeable ſenſations in my mind ſince the commencement of this unnatural war. If the French con-

vention were precipitant in their meaſures or decrees, there was no reaſon, that our "regular government" ſhould imitate the levity and folly of France; and we ſhould remember, that our miniſters broke an eſſential article of the treaty of commerce. The miniſter's pride is, however, humbled by the ſucceſſes of our enemies: but this is an unſatisfactory conſolation to the thouſands of families, who have loſt a father, a brother, or a ſon, or whoſe means of ſubſiſtence have been interrupted by the calamities of war.

In the city of Beſançon, my fortune, or my folly gave me an opportunity of obſerving the wild enthuſiaſm of the inhabitants, who thought that their liberty was attacked and endangered in my perſon. In the eager ſearch of curioſities, to which my mind had been

been excited by a triumphal arch of Aurelian, by the ſight of a campus martis*, and the fancied baths of Diana, I unfortunately aſcended the hill of the citadel; and leaving the ordinary way to the gate, I ſeated myſelf upon a rock on the outſide of the wall. My evil ſtars, or rather the mid-day heat, and the fatigue, which the morning journey had given me, combined to produce a deſire of repoſe; and as I generally read, or wrote my obſervations in theſe moments of reſt, I fooliſhly took from my pocket my journal, *et le Voyage de France.* I continued here ſome time unnoticed; but at length a guard upon the battlements, looking over the parapet, diſcovered me, and ordered me away. I replied, *tout de ſuite—tout de ſuite, Monſieur,* put up my books and roſe; but the enchanting

* Still called Chamars, and Chandane.

ing proſpect, which I there enjoyed from a commanding elevation, detained me a few moments. In the mean time the guard gave notice of my treſpaſs: three or four more heads were peeping over, and when I looked up, curſed me heartily. I deſcended a path in the rock; and before I had reached the bottom, I obſerved a ſoldier of the line cloſely following me. I turned to the left, towards the gate which leads to Salins; the ſoldier now ran before me, and when I arrived down the ſteps, I diſcovered the guards of the gate ſhouldering their muſquets, and preparing to receive me. They all glanced rage and fury; and one little national guard, whoſe paſſion and patriotiſm exceeded his diſcipline and politeneſs, ran furiouſly at me with brandiſhed ſabre, talking loudly, and ringing the changes upon *f—tre b—gre—! ſacrè b—gre—eſpion.*

eſpion. The ſoldier, who had followed me down the hill, was explaining to the ſerjeant, and the leſs irraſcible guards; but when he came to that part of my crime, which related to books, they all exclaimed, *il a écrit —il a écrit, ſacrè b—gre! —il a écrît.* I was indulged with a little ſilence; and as I was inquiring for the captain, he came out of his guard room, and loudly demanded the reaſon of the noiſe. A hundred voices as loudly exclaimed *Eſpion! eſpion!* and to the officer, who now came forward to behold this dangerous man, I preſented, with great ſubmiſſion, my imperfect paſſeport. The ſoldiers ſtood in ſilence; and I endeavoured to explain my motives of aſcending the hill of the citadel. But *eſpion —eſpion, il a écrit—ſacrè b—gre! —il a écrit—il tient ſes nottes*—variouſly vociferated by all the guards, eaſily

drowned my faint repreſentations; and the captain, whether to ſave himſelf the trouble of an examination, or to exculpate himſelf from every poſſible imputation of ariſtocracy, ordered two ſerjeants, and three rank and file, to conduct me to the municipality. Some truſty men were, I ſuppoſe, ſelected for this arduous enterprize; and after a few private hints to one of the ſerjeants, the proceſſion moved ſlowly on. Our order of march were, the two ſerjeants in front, with canes; on each ſide, and behind the ſpy, the common ſoldiers guarded me with reſted firelocks and fixed bayonets. At a little diſtance from the gate, in a niche of the wall, is ſeated upon a globe a coloſſal ſtatue of the emperor Charles the fifth, which like the one in the *Grande Place*, gave water by the ———. Bluſh, ye maidens of Beſançon! I was wiſhing to admire, or

was

was envying his manly proportions, or adoring the copious ſtreams of his royal bounty:—but I ſtopt—to look at the emperor was dangerous; and the hot-headed national guards conſidered this momentary halt as an undoubted proof of my ariſtocratic inclinations. The ſoldier, who had followed me down from the citadel, and who was not included in our order of march, collected the people, as we went on: but the fame of the ſpy ſoon preceded us. The women ſtood at the doors: the little boys ran before us, ſtopt to gaze, and then ran on again; and the more grave patriots, crowding behind, and eagerly inquiring the crime, cloſed the long proceſſion; but they all loaded me with the moſt bitter epithets *.

When

* I believe many innocent men have fallen a ſacrifice to popular fury for a much ſmaller crime

When we arrived at the *Hôtel de Ville*, the mayor was not preſent; and no examination could take place without him. The ſoldier, the original informer, was eager to take the conſequence of the examination to the comandant of the citadel, who, he ſaid, would be anxious till he knew. The common forms were then diſpenſed with; and this warm-hearted patriot made a long harangue to the ſecretary, in which he particularly deſcribed the poſition, and nature, and the part of the ſtone I had ſat on; that I looked attentively down the *Doubs*, and alternately upon the hill of Chamars, and into Chandane; and that I had taken two books from my pocket.

than I appeared to have committed. In a military nation, or where the people are jealous of their rights, a traveller cannot commit any greater indiſcretion, than the too minute examination of fortifications.

pocket. I here broke ſilence; and was preſenting them to the ſecretary, when one of the guards, dropping his muſquet upon my toes, gave me a very ſignificant rebuke for the illiberality of interrupting a ſoldier. He continued his oration ſome time longer, with fervency and pathos; and though not nine hours in the delivery, no Attorney General could have taken greater pains to convict a traitor. At laſt arrived at the peroration, he grew more loud; the guards, and people preſent, animated him with their looks and threatening geſtures; and he concluded a bitter invective againſt the emigrant princes and ariſtocrats, with the moſt terrible part of my charge, *il a écrit—aſſûrément il a écrit.*

I was now permitted to enter upon my juſtification: I eaſily explained

the reaſon of caſting my eyes to Chamars, or into Chandane; and reſted my grand defence upon my journal and my country—*Anglois* was eagerly caught by the crowd within, and buzzed about without the doors; and this electric word ſeemed to abaſh even my accuſer. At this moment the mayor arrived; and I was conducted into a little room for further examination. My journal was read: an officer was ſent for my pacquet, and when examined, the books I had with me were approved. The mayor was eaſily convinced of my honeſty, and would have diſmiſſed me early, but he did not wiſh to appear precipitate in his ſentence. An officer went into the anti-chamber and aſſured the people I was a patriot. A faint acclamation was thence communicated into the ſtreet; and, in a little time, the vaſt aſſemblage, buzzing about *Anglois et Patriote*,

Patriote, perſuaded themſelves that this Monſieur was a brave man, *et bon patriote*. Soon after this favourable impreſſion had become general, the mayor diſmiſſed me with the polite rebuke, that my own diſcernment, he hoped, would prevent any future incidents of this kind; and, upon my leaving his preſence, the people in the anti-chamber, and the ſtreet, making an avenue for the releaſed captive, hailed me as a dear Engliſhman, and a brother of liberty.

This adventure, though I can now relate it with pleaſure, gave me a world of pain and anxiety; and I a long time recollected with horror, that the people might as eaſily have been perſuaded I was an ariſtocrat, and inſtead of an honourable acquittal, I might have been hung at the lantern.

I made

I made haſte to my inn, ſwallowed a few glaſſes of wine, and eagerly left the curioſities of Beſançon, to purſue my journey, with leſs inquietude and more pleaſure, to the town of Geneva.

At the bourg of Miribel, not far from the populous city of Lyons, I met a battalion of the national guards, who had been ordered to do garriſon duty at Beſançon, and were then upon their march to what they called *aux frontiers*. Many of their friends had accompanied them ſeveral miles from Lyons; and though at the entrance of this little bourg, they had formed into battalion, and marched in with colours flying and drums beating, they had divided on the road, and intoxicated themſelves with copious draughts of wine and dreams of liberty. I had lately

lately left the cantons of Switzerland, where it would be a crime againſt the ſtate to wear a national cockade. As the ſoldiers paſſed, they threw eyes of indignation upon me, and forcibly exclaimed, *Ariſtocrate! b—gre d' Ariſtocrate!*—I was not then conſcious of my crime, and notwithſtanding their cries, and indignant countenances, calmly looked upon and admired theſe courageous Gaſcons.

Before the whole body had paſſed, the drum beat to halt; and upon the colonel, who, perhaps, was an honeſt ſilk-weaver of Lyons, diſmiſſing them for refreſhment, a large party aſſembled around me; and after general and violent accuſations of ariſtocracy, one demanded my reaſon for not carrying the national cockade. I ſmiled at the queſtion, and as I hoped I could

ſatisfactorily

ſatisfactorily anſwer it, was happy tha this was my ſuppoſed crime. I ſoon acquainted theſe citizen ſoldiers, that I had been in Savoy, that the king of Sardinia was an ariſtocrat, to which they all loudly aſſented, and that it was highly dangerous to wear this emblem of liberty in the poor dominions of that *foutu Deſpote.* "*Il a raiſon,*" was generally and wiſely concluded: and I aſſured them, that I was a friend of liberty, and an Engliſhman. *Notre cher frère,* warmly and fondly uttered, encouraged my hopes of an honourable acquittal from the atrocious imputation of ariſtocracy; and I told them, that as I had only two days left that tyrant's country, and had not been ſtopped by any perſon on the roads, I had forgot to mount the cockade. I was proceeding to declare, that Engliſhmen—— but they all

all anticipated my aſſurance—were *bons Amis de la Liberté*; and that though I did not diſplay any exterior inſignia, which were too frequently fallacious, the ſentiments of freedom were deeply impreſſed on my mind. I took out my journal: an anxious ſilence ſucceeded; and every eye was fixed upon the book. I was not eager to relieve their ſuſpenſe—ſpoke for ſome time with the book in my hand,—at laſt I ſhewed the cockade of liberty; and ſincerely aſſured them, as I was an Engliſhman, that even when I was in Italy, and the territories of the emperor, I had never thrown away this dear pledge, but had thus carried the emblem of liberty about my perſon, and the ſentiments of the nation in my heart. *Bravo! bravo! Vive la nation!—ma foi—il a l'eſprit.* I was reſtored to favour, was a brave

man,

man, and *joli garçon*, would make an excellent ſoldier; and they all inſiſted, that their Engliſh brother ſhould go and drink with them.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

CHURCHES.

IN the firſt volume of the Wanderer, under Sunday, and in this volume, under Superſtition, I have related many of the follies and abſurdities of the catholic faith; and dearly as I love the church, the mother of all good things, I could not paſs the opportunity of paying my ſubmiſſive obedience to her *militant* greatneſs. Why this warlike phraſe was ever uſed, I am utterly ignorant: the laws and regulations of our religious maſter were gentle and peaceful; and as his immediate diſciples, who, as poor and ignorant

ignorant fiſhermen, had no extenſive demeſnes to protect from the rapacity of each other, or the neighbouring Lords, did not then poſſeſs ſufficient influence to make kings and princes deſtroy their own or their neighbours people, by the ſword of the inquiſition, or of war, the phraſe muſt have owed its origin to later and more corrupted times. The holy inquiſition traces its ſacred origin to God, who, as inquiſitor general, exerciſed his powers over the ſolitary population of the world, over Adam, and delegating them to his Son, St. Peter, and St. Paul, finally repoſed them in the hands of the holy Dominic; and the church-militant will alſo arrogate a divine origin, becauſe the good maſter declared, that he brought "not peace, but the ſword."

The

The experience of ages has convinced us of the truth of this humane declaration: the church have piouſly obeyed the innocent injunction, and embroiled its own ſubjects, and ſometimes diſtant nations, in their idle diſputes, which tended to impoveriſh the people, weaken the prince, but enrich the prieſthood. They have been, everywhere, attentive to accelerate, and refine our celeſtial enjoyments; and as a rich man can, with difficulty, "enter into the kingdom of heaven," they have piouſly engroſſed, as much of theſe damnable earthly inheritances, as they could put their deadly hands on. Two centuries ſince, the Engliſh reaſon was ſufficiently expanded to ſubvert the odious accumulations of the religious houſes; and in modern France, eccleſiaſtical domains were nationalized, and ſold for

the

the benefit of the people, or to liquidate the old debts of the crown.

But in the greater portion of Europe, the ſons of the church continue in poſſeſſion of their immenſe riches; and though they cannot be betrothed, or married to one wife, they may laviſh their revenues upon, or at the caprice of, their concubines, or upon the leſs juſtifiable extravagances of ſplendid and pompous cathedrals, erected to ſuperſtition—not to God, who dwells not in temples of ſtone, but whoſe nature pervades and animates the univerſe. In England, our churches are, and in France, the temples of reaſon will be, plain, ſimple, and unadorned, and the people are, and will be happy; but in Italy, where immenſe ſums are yearly expended upon the ornaments of churches, where the cathedrals are

equalled

equalled in magnificence, and only ſurpaſs in extent the little ſhrines, oratories or chapels, thickly planted on the road ſide, to which the devout paſſenger muſt pay his religious adoration, the condition of the people is wretched, poor, and oppreſſed.

At Milan, the piety of the archbiſhops has erected, and ſtill continues to adorn, the moſt gorgeous building of the world, at which the pure taſte of the traveller is ſhocked by a confuſed collection of *ſaintly** deformities; and the fine ſculptured repreſentation of Adam and Eve, turned out of paradiſe by the angel, which the preſent biſhop has erected near the grand entrance, may be typical of his own dereliction of the joys and revenues of his epiſcopal paradiſe. Near Turin,

* No leſs than eleven thouſand ſculptured ſaints ornament, or deform the cathedral.

Turin, the mortal pride of the Sardinian kings, has been conſoled by a ſuperb mauſoleum, where their royal bodies are preſerved, perhaps under the certain conviction, that their bones, as they ſerve to point a moral, and remind us of the inſtability of human grandeur, will be of more ſervice to the world, than themſelves ever were, when living. The philoſopher muſt equally deride the ſuperga of Turin, the royal chapel of Henry the VIIth, and the ſtupendous pyramids of the Egyptian kings; and though he laughs at the pious conteſt of an Italian or a French devotee, who would murder the other to prove the greater elevation of the ſteeple of Milan or Straſbourg, he muſt ſtill admire the wonderful clock of the latter, which explains and deſcribes the evolutions of nature. He will paſs over the pompous monuments of princes, biſhops, and

prieſts,

prieſts, everywhere enumerating the ſaintly perfections they never poſſeſſed; and rather than admire the chriſtian *virtues*, which encouraged war and rapine, he would pauſe, with increaſing delight, over the tomb of Laura, at Avignon, and admire the ſoft verſes of Petrarch, though conſecrating adulterous love.

The more chaſte traveller might amuſe his leiſure hours in the church-yards of the Griſons, where the poor, but virtuous people celebrate, by monumental inſcriptions, the departed worth of their benefactors, and good magiſtrates; and by thus paying homage to truth, animate future judges to deſerve well of their contemporaries, and poſterity: or, from amidſt the ſplendid monuments, and fulſome panegyrics of the dukes of Loraine, at Nancy, he might turn to the happy elegance of a plain marble ſlab, and with it adore

the memory of that man, whoſe greateſt pride was to live in the boſoms of his fellow-citizens. Fatigued with the contemplation of images, and ſaints of wood and ſtone, his mind might find relief in the chriſtian convent of ——— at Arles; where were interred the mortal remains of the chriſtian and pagan inhabitants of the third and fourth century. If an idolater of the pomp of ſacrifice, and the rites and ceremonies of the pagan polytheiſm, or if he conſiders the religions of the ancient world as equally uſeful, and enjoying equal claims to *revelation*, he might ſtill bleſs that laudable ſpirit of toleration in the primitive ages, which could allow their more ſacred bodies to lie joint tenants, with pagans, of the Elyſian fields*.

In

* The place is now generally called by the natives of Arles, and by travellers, *Les Champs Eliſées*: Arles abounds with curioſities, of which a minute

In the ſuperſtitious country of Belgia, where it was once an honour to kill a Jew, and where the ſtates of Brabant could adjourn, for many days, the diſcuſſion of the right and property of two convents to the invaluable poſſeſſion of a miracle-working wafer, the riches and grandeur of the churches, and monaſteries nearly equal the ſplendour of Italy; and in profuſion of paintings, the cathedral of Antwerp ſurpaſſes the moſt gaudy collection of holy ſufferings, I ever ſaw. The Connoiſeur muſt admire the productions of art, and may ſpend ſome well-engaged hours in examining the paintings of the thirty-ſeven altars of the Antwerp cathedral; but as the arts and ſciences, purchaſed by the riches of the church, have

a minute account is publiſhed, or was intended to be publiſhed, by M. Dumont, under the title of *Les Anciens Monuments d'Arles.*

have been converted to increaſe the blind ſubmiſſion of the multitude, to promote ſuperſtition, and enchain the reaſon of man, the philoſopher will curſe that ſublime pencil or chiſel, that has contributed its faſcinating charms to overſhadow the world with darkneſs. At the church of ———, the piety of Rubens has adorned a chapel, which now is called by his name, with ſeveral repreſentations of ſcriptural ſanctity; and in drawing the divine countenances of the two Marys, whoſe names even ſhould be mentioned with reſpect, and whoſe *maiden* virtues and benevolent countenances cannot be perſonified by human figures, he has affectionately, or impiouſly deſigned the *married* and chaſte virtues of his two wives.

In the city of Mons, we ſaw the monks perform divine, but a noiſy ſervice,

ſervice, in the chapel of the Dominicans; and at the church of St. Elizabeth, we joined in public worſhip, and celebrated, with our faint wiſhes, the elevation of the hoſt. This important part of catholic adoration was accompanied with a full band of muſic; and my comrade, who has ſpent many of his leiſure hours in the ſtudy and harmonies of muſic, and flattered himſelf with the poſſeſſion of a good Engliſh ear, declared with rapture, that he then heard the moſt perfect ſolo violencello. The good fathers of mankind have everywhere put the fine arts in requiſition to gild the chains of their dutiful children; they, as well as the convention of France, are convinced, that "the empire of the ſenſes rules the multitude;" and the political fathers of the republic now hope by "Gymnaſia courſes and wreſtlings, triumphal feſtivals, branches

of oak, and the pantheon,"—by "theatres dedicated to the people, and formed upon the great models of antiquity, which ages have reſpected," that they "will long time mitigate their ſlavery with the varniſhed colours of liberty. A religion, whoſe augurs bring down the goddeſs of victory and juſtice upon this renovated earth," and endeavour to enſlave the mind of man by the pomp and ceremonies of the pagan world, is as contemptible in the eyes of the philoſopher, as the miſerable expedients of the catholics*.

War

* When the French invaded Flanders under the command of Dumourier, and after the battle of Gemappe, took quiet poſſeſſion of the provinces, weſt of the Meuſe, the riches of the monaſteries frequently attracted the eagle eyes of the *ſans-culottes*. Some hungry *atheiſts*, who did not ſee the neceſſity of gold or ſilver in the worſhip of an incorporeal Deity, determined to deprive a monaſtery of this earthly traſh. The monks

War is ever unfavourable to the intereſts of true religion and morality: its concomitant barbarities invariably deſtroy

monks were informed of the ſacrilegious determination, and before the French arrived, prepared a handſome woman to perſonify "the queen of heaven." Men, whoſe ferocious valour had not been appalled by the murderous redoubts of Gemappe, ſoon broke down the heavy iron gates of ſuperſtition; and in full poſſeſſion of the religious citadel, ſome were drinking the ſacred monaſtic wine, and others were ſacking the children of God, and the gold and ſilver utenſils. A noiſe, like thunder, interrupted their pious labours: they all looked aghaſt for a moment—a beautiful woman entered, and forbad them to touch her ſacred property. Some hardy ſpirits, who had early ſeen through the deceit, continued their labours; and a few, believing the divinity of the miſſion, recommended to their *freres d' armes* to fly—Fly! exclaimed a ſtubborn patriot, yes! to the arms of the dear deceiver: he kiſſed and hugged the material viſion, till the moſt credulous was convinced of the impoſture; and they all departed, laden with wealth, and determined never to truſt the *ſoi-diſants* meſſengers of heaven.

ſtroy the ſentiments of pity, and brutalize the heart. Wars of opinion are ſtill more deſtructive to individual comfort, and the peace of ſociety: the French exterminate, with relentleſs fury, the unhappy ariſtocrats at home, and the wretched emigrants, whom the misfortune of birth, and the prejudices of education have ranged on the ſide of deſpotiſm; and when the victorious army of the prince of Cobourg had repulſed the French within their frontier, and having captured Condé and Valenciennes, gaſconaded before the gates of Cambray, the name of a Carmagnol was death to the vanquiſhed patriot, and his ſorry remains of property was the legal plunder of the ſoldiers of Cæſar. The churches, which were ſometimes held ſacred and inviolate by the catholic Germans, were lawfully ſtripped of their wealth by the proteſtant ſoldiers of Heſſe and

of

of Hanover; and in this war, which was piouſly commenced by the philoſophic king of Pruſſia, and his moſt Apoſtolic majeſty, the troops of the allies, though they are fighting for the reſtoration of the infallible religion, have everywhere imitated, or exceeded their enemies in the pollution and plunder of the churches. It was impious, and an abomination, that the French ſhould preſerve the lives of four thouſand horſes from the ſeverities of the winter, in the cathedral of Liege: and the devout biſhop conſigned the ſouls of ſome national officers to eternal perdition, who had rationally attempted to ſupply the waſte of war, in the virtuous embrace of the nuns of ———: but the Britiſh troops might lawfully reſt under the roof and guardianſhip of religion, feed their horſes at the altars, or kennel their dogs in the houſe of the

Lord. All the world have indignantly rouzed from ſleep and peace, and ſent their numerous forces to avenge, by the blood of the French, the profane delapidations of eccleſiaſtical property; and the pious bombs of the royal and chriſtian army, though pointed by human hands, at the houſes of the people of Valenciennes, have not ſpared the ſacred abodes of religion. But it is the will of the Lord, declared through the mouths of his earthly viceroys; and we bow ſubmiſſive to the myſterious contradiction.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

MOUNTAINS, LAKES, AND RIVERS.

PREVIOUS to my firſt pedeſtrian excurſion on the continent, I had frequently ſeen the mountains and lakes of the north of England; and though, in my ſchool-boy fancy, I had exaggerated the terrors of the mighty Alps, the reaſon of a more mature age conſiderably pruned the wild luxuriance of imagination. Our ideas of magnitude are comparitive; and as our mountains were tremendous to my infant eyes, I afterwards thought, that by doubling their elevation, emboldening their rocks, and capping their ſum-

mits with ſnow, I ſhould create the picture of the Alps. The lakes, alſo, of Cumberland, which attract the attention of the ſouthern Engliſh, are meagre copies of the grand originals of Switzerland; and when from Mont Jura, I ſaw the vaſt expanſe of the Lake of Geneva, from Copet to Villeneuve, variegated with a thouſand ſhades of vines, corn, and paſture, darkened with woods and rocks, and above all, the grand and ſublime Mont Blanc, on whoſe ſnows the ſetting ſun caſt a crimſon tint, I was loſt in ſilent admiration.

I do not intend to deſcribe the ſtrata, and natural curioſities of the mountains and lakes, nor minutely to relate the beauties, or rapidity, or ſlowneſs of the rivers. I confeſs my embarraſsment in arranging the ſubjects of this chapter; but as I think it

it will facilitate my labour, and perhaps, by diverſifying the ſubjects, will be more amuſing to the reader, I will follow the courſe of my journey.

Having paſſed from Boulogne, through Amiens, and afterwards by a country path to Bac-a-bellerive, and acroſs the Oiſe, and the Aiſne, near Jaulzy, to Soiſſons, we ſojourned ſix days in this epiſcopal city, under the immediate protection, and in view of the cathedral, but in conſtant dread of the marechauſèe, and national guards. Thence we purſued our journey through Chateau Thierry, and the parched plains of Champaigne, to the banks of the Seine, to Troyes and Dijon, and in diſtant view of the mountains of the Eaſtern Burgundy and Franche Compté, to Chalons-ſur-Saone. We here embarked in the

Coche

Coche d'Eau; and in the company of many ſcore of rich and poor French, deſcended to Lyons. The various ſcenes of the Saone, on which my mind now dreams, deſerve a particular deſcription; but without the imagination of a poet, or the pencil of a painter, the picture would ſuffer from my attempt. I will, however, repeat the words of a letter I wrote to a friend in England, from Geneva, in which, after deſcribing the fertile country of Vaud, the rocks of Savoy, and the glaciers of Mont Blanc, I profeſs, that "I muſt again return to the Saone, for I ſhall never forget it. However deeply theſe vaſt and ſublime ſcenes may be impreſſed upon my mind, the elegant views of the Saone will be equally durable. The diſtant elevations of the hills, variouſly covered with woods, corn, and vines, and everywhere glittering with houſes,

houſes, preſented to my view a novel landſcape. The numbers of the cattle near the river, and the keepers, aſtoniſhed me: but the river, the cattle, and the herdſmen realized to my eyes what I before thought had only had exiſtence in the luxuriant imaginations of poets and painters."

The beauty of nature, which exhilarated and calmed our perturbed ſpirits, had its proportional effect upon the gay and happy natives; and, except by one ſolitary inſtance of a quarrel between the boatman and a ſoldier, the eaſe of the paſſengers was never interrupted. My companion had been informed, that if he regiſtered our names as ſoldiers, we might paſs for half the fare; and when the clerk of the boat went round to take the money and names of the company, he declared he was a ſoldier. The

clerk doubted, " And your comrade too?" I knew we were to paſs for ſoldiers; and when *ſoldat* ſtruck my ears, and required ſome anſwer, I very boldly replied *oui!* but unneceſſarily added *d'Angleterre.* Wonderful diſcovery! but every Frenchman laughed, and exclaimed, *l'Angleterre! ma foi! ce n'eſt pas la France*; and we were obliged to pay two crowns for our paſſage. We fortunately, however, were permitted to aſſociate with our gay companions: and at Macon, where we indulged ſome hours of conviviality in profeſſions of attachment to liberty, and the nation, we were received as their dear brothers.

The ſoldiers, who conſidered themſelves honoured with the company of their brother Engliſh, extorted a promiſe, that we ſhould follow the river

to

to Avignon; but having received ſome very angry letters from our friends, and determining, at all events, to ſee the lakes and mountains of Switzerland, we excuſed ourſelves from our promiſe, and immediately directed our courſe to the city of Geneva. I ſhall not attempt to deſcribe either the city or the lake, or the ſurrounding mountains; if the traveller either aſcends the Mont Jura, or enters this country from Beſançon; if he aſcends the mountain above Villeneuve, or traces with Rouſſeau, the ſteps of St. Preux and Julia, on the rocks above Meillerie, he will ſee, in every point and variety, this paradiſe of Europe. We aſcended along difficult paths to that famous rock, which the pen of Rouſſeau has conſecrated; and afterwards paſſed over the lake to Vevay. We admired his elegant deſcriptions; and as this

chapter

chapter will be much improved by a tranſlation, I hope the Reader will be pleaſed with the ſelection.

" In the middle of the lake I explained to Julia all the parts of the ſuperb horizon, which ſurrounded us. I ſhewed her, from afar, the mouths of the Rhône, whoſe impetuous current is ſcarcely ſtayed at the diſtance of a quarter of a league, and heſitates to ſully with its muddy waters the cryſtal azure of the lake. Returning to our ſide, I directed her admiration to the rich and charming banks of the Pays de Vaud, where the quantity of towns, the innumerable multitude of people, the verdant and cultivated hills form, in every view, an enchanting picture, where the earth, everywhere cultivated and fertile, offers to the labourer, the herdſman, and vintager, the certain fruit of their toil,

devoured

devoured by no rapacious tax-gatherer. Then, pointing to the oppoſite coaſt of Chablais, a country no leſs favoured by nature, but which offers only a picture of miſery, I drew a marked diſtinction between the different effects of the two governments, for riches, population, and happineſs. Thus, ſaid I, the earth opens her fertile boſom, and laviſhes her treaſure upon the happy people, who cultivate for themſelves; ſhe ſmiles, and is animated with the ſweet ſpectacle of liberty; ſhe delights to nouriſh men. On the contrary, melancholy ruins, heaths, and briers, which cover a land half deſert, announce from afar, that an abſent maſter lords it there, and reluctantly gives to his ſlaves ſome meagre productions, from which they can draw no profit."

At Meillerie " after dinner, as the water was ſtill tempeſtuous, and the boat wanted repairing, I propoſed a walk.—Julia objected, on account of the wind, the ſun, and my fatigue with rowing. I had my views, and thus anſwered all her objections. I am, ſaid I, accuſtomed from my infancy to laborious exerciſes; far from impairing my health, they have ſtrengthened it; and my laſt voyage has made me more robuſt than ever. As to the wind and ſun, you are protected by your ſtraw hat *, we ſhall ſoon reach a ſhelter, and the woods: we will aſcend the rocks, and you, who love not the plains, will ſupport the fatigue very willingly. She conſented to my deſires, and we began our aſcent, while our attendants were dining.

" You

* The men and women of the Pays de Vaud wear a particular kind of ſtraw hat, of uncouth appearance and extreme coarſeneſs.

" You know, that after the exile of the Valais, I went, now ten years ſince, to Meillerie to await the permiſſion of my return. There I paſſed my days ſo melancholy, but delicious, ſolely occupied with her, and thence I wrote the letter, which ſo ſenſibly touched her heart. I had always deſired to re-viſit this inſulated retreat, which ſerved me for an aſylum in the midſt of the ice, where my heart delighted in its ſolitary converſations with what it loved above the world. The opportunity of viſiting this place ſo dear, in a ſeaſon more agreeable, and with her, whoſe image had before inhabited it with me, was the ſecret motive of my walk. I anticipated the pleaſure of ſhewing to her the ancient monuments of a paſſion ſo conſtant, and ſo unhappy.

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" We

" We arrived, after an hour's walk, by cool and winding paths, which, aſcending inſenſibly between the trees and the rocks, had nothing more incommodious than the length of the way. In approaching and recognizing the ancient memorials of my paſſion, I was near fainting, but I recovered my ſtrength, concealed my trouble, and we arrived. This ſolitary place forms a retreat, wild and deſert, but full of that kind of beauty, which only pleaſes ſenſible ſouls, and appears horrid to others. A torrent, formed by the melting of ſnows, rolled at twenty paces from us its turbid waters, and carried along with its noiſy current mud, ſand, and ſtones. Behind us, a chain of inacceſſible rocks ſeparated the eſplanade, where we were, from that part of the Alps they call the Glaciers, on account of the enormous

ſummits

ſummits of ice, which are inceſſantly increaſing, and have covered thoſe mountains from the beginning of the world*. Foreſts of black fir caſt a melancholy ſhade over us, on the right; a great wood of oaks was on the left, beyond the torrent, and beneath us this immenſe field of water, which the lake forms in the boſom of the Alps, ſeparated us from the rich coaſts of the Pays de Va d, whoſe picture the heights of the majeſtic Jura nobly crown.

" In the midſt of theſe great magnificent objects, the earth, on which we ſtood, diſplayed the charms of a country, ſmiling and ruſtic: rivulets filtered acroſs the rocks, and rolled along the verdure

* Theſe mountains are ſo high, that half an hour after ſun-ſet, their ſummits are ſtill lightened by its rays, whoſe red forms, upon the white heights, a fine colour of roſe, which is ſeen to a very great diſtance.

verdure in fillets of cryſtal. Some wild fruit trees hung their heads over ours. The moiſt and freſh earth was covered with herbs and flowers. Comparing this ſo delicious retreat to the objects, which ſurrounded it, it ſeems, that this deſert place was deſtined for the aſylum of two lovers, eſcaped alone from the wreck of nature. Here are the places, where once ſighed for thee the moſt faithful lover of the world —here thy dear image made my happineſs, and prepared it for thoſe pleaſures, it afterwards received from thee. Then I ſaw neither theſe fruits nor theſe ſhades; no verdure or flowers variegated the carpet: the courſe of theſe rivulets formed no diviſions: the birds withheld their ſongs: the voracious hawk, the funereal raven, the terrible eagle of the Alps alone pierced theſe caverns with their cries. Immenſe iſicles hung upon all theſe rocks: feſtoons

toons of ſnow were the only ornaments of theſe trees—all breathed the rigour of winter, and the horrors of froſt: the fires of my ſoul alone made it ſupportable, and whole days here paſſed in thinking of thee."

From Villeneuve, we paſſed by St. Maurice, Martinach, and the valley of Trient to Chamouny, and the blue coloured Glaciers. We were not rivals of the agility of the Chamois-hunters, or of the dangerous fame of Sauſſure; nor were we ambitious of being fifteen thouſand feet elevated above the common level, and failings of humanity. If we did not aſcend to the top of Mont Blanc, we ſaw ſufficient of the ſublime horrors, and chaſms of the Glaciers; and taking advantage of the return of ſome mules, deſcended with them to Salenche. The heavy rains and ſtorms,

which I had ſeen at Villeneuve, had reached to the mountains weſt of Chamouny; and a little below Pont de Chevre, where an Alpine torrent had broken up the road, we were obliged to aſcend the oppoſite mountain, and follow the ſheep tracts, till we could paſs the river, and then ſlowly deſcended to Paſſy and Salenche. This excurſion was extremely painful, and laborious; but at a very great elevation, and in a clear atmoſphere, we ſurveyed the enormous maſſes of mountains, whoſe ices ſeparated us and Savoy from the pleaſures and fertility of Italy.

Two days afterwards we attempted to paſs Bon Homme*; and having

* The difficulties of this mountain is deſcribed in page 61, of the Firſt Volume. The paſſe, or the Croix du Bon Homme, is 8,032 feet above the

ing arrived on the third day in the Lordſhip of Tarentaiſe, and ariſing at a very early hour the next morning, we threaded the narrow vallies, and happily traverſed the terrible Mont Iſere, after a ſevere march of fourteen hours. But this fatiguing day, the length of the walk, or the natural or reflected heat of the ſun, had ſo exhauſted me, that when we arrived at Bonneval, I was utterly unable to eat or drink. After thoſe two mighty paſſes, Mont Cenis was an eaſy afternoon's walk; though withal, I muſt acknowledge my ſurprize, how the French troops could force the paſſage of this mountain in the preſence of the Sardinian army, who had previouſly occupied the heights, and fortified every acceſſible part.

the ſea; Mont Cenis only 6,347; but Mont Blanc rears his monſtrous head 15,526 Engliſh feet above the Mediterranean.

part. We thence purſued our journey to Turin, and deſcended partly by the Po, partly on foot, to the city of Mantua.

From Mantua we croſſed the country to Breſcia, and ſkirting the bottom of the mountains to Canonica, went down the canal to Milan, and thence by a night diligence to Como. Upon this luxurious lake, the memory dwells with enraptured pleaſure, and paints to my eye its mountain beauties. "Boſomed deep in cheſnut groves," the glittering palaces everywhere reflect the ſun, and hang over the lake. The mountains come down to the margin, and preſent, to their ſummits, wood, corn, and verdure, intermixed with cottage habitations, and rocks, topped with gilded churches. Where the precipices have retreated a few dozen yards from the lake, or where the water

water has depoſited its ſtones and mud, the vines incircle the elms, or running up the houſes, colour the white-walled towns with roofs of green, and purple*.

From Como we paſſed by a boat to the lake and town of Chiavenna—from the catholic and political ſlavery of Milan, to the liberty of Switzerland; and having paſſed the immenſe Alp of Spluger, and deſcended the Hinder Rhine to Retzuns and Coire, we continued our journey to the lakes of Walledſtadt and Zurich. The firſt is ſmall and ſavage, frowning, on the north, with impending rocks and dark woods, and preſenting on the ſouthern ſide,

* At Gravedona and Groſadona, at both of which towns the rocks are not one hundred yards from the lake, the houſes preſent, in front, an iron or gilt balcony, and a roof of vine and grapes.

ſide, woods variegated only by the different ſhades of ſituation, by large extended paſtures, and ſcanty ſpecks of corn. The more elegant romantic and ſublime diverſities of Como had entirely pre-occupied my mind; and though between Veſens and Richenau, the richeſt culture aſcends to the ſummits of the gentle and departing hills, ſimilar to what had before ſtruck me ſo forcibly on the banks of the Saone, and though from the bridge of Rapperſwill, the eaſtern proſpect was richly variegated with woods, corn, and paſture, and terminated by the ſnow-capt diſtant rock of Glaris, gilded by the watery rays of the ſetting ſun, I could not recal my abſent mind from the ſuperior pleaſures of the Italian lakes and mountains.

From the lakes of Zug, and Lucerne, whoſe beauties and ſavage wildneſs

neſs I very imperfectly obſerved, I purſued my journey through the canton of Underwaldt, and along the little waters of Saxelen and Longres, to the canton of Berne, and the lakes of Brientz and Thun. The ſides of the former preſent, on the ſouth, ſteep, ſterile, and ſavage rocks, and on the north, immenſe woods, ſeldom variegated with corn or paſture; the proſpect, however, when viewed from the weſt, opens like a triangular figure, whoſe ſides are rocky, and lined with wood of various hues, terminated by a ſteep hill, patched with ſnow. The lake of Thun, over which near the head, impends an immenſe and almoſt perpendicular woodleſs rock, capped with the moſt flouriſhing paſture, diſplays beyond this tremendous cliff the moſt highly cultivated and diverſified ſmiling banks: the ſun peeped over the pyramidal mountains of the weſt,

and its rays communicated a rich yellowed tint to the watery atmoſphere, and low grounds near the town of Thun. We thence followed the courſe of the Kandel, to the bottom of the mountains, which divided the canton of Berne from the republic of Valais; and after a painful and long morning aſcent, contemplated the dreadful miſchiefs, which an Avalanche* had committed in an elevated valley of the paſſe of Gemmi. If ever there was a period of my life, when

* Among theſe immenſe mountains, the ſafety of the natives and traveller is endangered by the *Avalanches* and *Lavanges*. The firſt is the fall of a vaſt body of glaciers, or incruſted and hardened ſnow; the latter expreſſes ſnow in its new fallen and natural ſtate, which, when agitated by the wind, and drifted, frequently covers the villages of the vallies many yards deep. The vaſt foreſts of wood, with which the lower parts of the mountains abound, form the only defence againſt the mighty Avalanche, which have too frequently cruſhed

when my ſoul was abſtracted from the world, it was at that part of this elevated paſſe, which overlooks Leukerbadt, and from which the eye ſurveys, but knows not how to meaſure, the mighty Alps, which on every ſide ſurround it, and form the impervious barrier of Italy. I was loſt in amazement: the ſublime, rocky, and white vaſtneſs of the mountains, whoſe enormous peaks towered above the clouds, appeared like the wrecks of nature; and though the vallies are crowded with

cruſhed down the woods, and ſuddenly overwhelmed the peaceable ruſtics in this wreck of nature. The force of the Avalanche in Gemmi had been ſo precipitate, that nothing could eſcape its fury: it aſcended the oppoſite hill to a conſiderable elevation, and with its immenſe body damming up the Gorge, for many months formed a new lake. The mountain, from one of whoſe pyramidal ſides the glacier had fallen, ſtill continues comparatively bare of ſnow, the only natural produce of that terrible elevation.

with towns and villages, they were too diminutive for obſervation. At this lofty elevation, every thing was confounded; and except upon the village of Leukerbadt, which ſeemed, and is almoſt perpendicular below this horrid ſcarp, the eye could fix upon no veſtige of humanity.

From the hot baths of Leukerbadt, I followed the ſtream to Leuch, and deſcending on the banks of the thundering and turbid Rhoſne, to the placid and pellucid lake of Geneva, croſſed the Pays de Vaud to the lake of Morat, and thence, by Berne and Soleure, to the lakes of Bienne and Neuchâtel. The vaſt and diſtant proſpect of the ſnowy peaks of Schreckhorn, and Wetterhorn frequently detained me on the road; but at Petlach, a ſmall village two leagues diſtant from Soleure, I determined to aſcend the hills, which I thought

I thought would at once expoſe the glacier's wintery appearance, and the intermediate fruitful country, dreſſed in the richeſt garbs of ſummer. My mind was diſordered by variety: below me I caſt my eyes upon the meanderings of the cryſtal and gentle Aar, flowing with every wild and wanton extravagance through a long extended valley, decked in nature's ſport with every variety of culture, vines, and many-coloured graſs, gentle hills and dales, foreſts, and clumps of trees of a hundred different hues and ſhades: to the eaſt, the city of Soleure, and many a happy ſtraw-thatched cottage: in front, the many undulations of the canton of Berne, rich in corn, wood, and paſture, terminated by the foreſts of the mountains of Fribourg, Berne, and Lucerne; and beyond all, and above ſome heavy ſilvery clouds, ſtalked

the huge maſſes of Schreckhorn and Wetterhorn.

From Neuchâtel I paſſed along the vallies of the Jura, to Baſle and Straſbourg, and after a long circuitous journey acroſs the Voſges and the Jura, re-entered Switzerland by St. Sergues. The view from this paſs is, of all others, the moſt grand and rich; and if ſurveyed in the evening, and with the ſetting ſun, it gives rapture to every mind. " *The nearer I approached Switzerland, the more I was affected. The inſtant, when from the heights of Jura I diſcovered the lake of Geneva, was an inſtant of extacy and tranſport. The ſight of my country, of that country ſo dear, where tortents of pleaſure have inundated my heart, the air of the Alps, ſo ſalutary and ſo pure, the ſweet air of our country,

* From Rouſſeau's Eloiſe.

try, ſweeter than the perfumes of the eaſt, this land, rich and fertile, this landſcape *unique*, the moſt beauteous, with which the human eye was ever ſtruck; this charming abode, to which I had found nothing equal in the tour of the world, the aſpect of a people, happy and free, the mildneſs of the ſeaſon, the ſerenity of the climate, a thouſand delicious recollections, which awakened all the ſentiments I had ever breathed; all threw me into tranſports, which I am unable to deſcribe, and reſtored me, in a moment, to the enjoyments of my whole life."

Happily relieved, at Geneva, from the poverty which threatened me, I determined on a little excurſion to the Mediterranean; and embarking aboard the *Coche d' Eau* at Lyons, deſcended to the *ci-devant* papal city of Avignon.

I have,

I have, in the chapter of enthuſiaſm, related the convivial pleaſures of our firſt night on the Rhoſne, at the village or bourg of Condrieu, and in the Firſt Volume deſcribed ſome happy moments with a common ſoldier of Penthievre, and a Greek of Corfu. At a league below Lyons, the proſpect of that populous city is beautiful and magnificent: the mountains on the weſt, which retire a little from the river, are covered with the moſt delicious vines; and the whole country, on all ſides, ſmiles with abundance. The hermitage, green and purpled, was crowded with vintagers, whoſe loud ſhouts, hailing the boat, and echoing round the mountain, rent the air with applauſe, encouraged the labourers, and advertized the inhabitants of Tournon of our approach. A little below, where the gentle ſtream of

Iſere

Iſere unites its waters to the muddy and rapid Rhoſne, I ſhed tears of pleaſure, on the reflection, that three months before, I had trod, along its diminiſhed current, to its ſource in the mountains of Savoy, in the conſoling ſociety of my dear Engliſh companion; but that now I beheld its confluence, alone, unfriended. In the Lower Dauphinè, the mountains, ſuddenly becoming more lofty, grand, dry, and ſavage, announce the mighty Alps, from whoſe icy ſummits theſe more diminutive elevations form a gradual deſcent into the plains.

Along the narrow gorge of Olioules, where, in many places, the impending parched rocks ſcarcely admit the bed of the river, and the road, on whoſe thin and rare accretion of ſoil, luxuriantly ſpring vines, olive, and fig trees, and which has lately witneſſed the

the ſteady valour of Britons, and the irreſiſtible impetuoſity of Frenchmen, we purſued our journey to the city of Toulon; and after examining the arſenal, the magnificent rope-houſe, and lamenting that ſome of the immenſe collection of balls might be winged with death to my brave countrymen, I returned by the ſame Gorge to Aix, Liſle, and Vaucluſe. The genius and paſſion of Petrarch have dignified this latter place, more than its ſavage rock and ſingular fountain: few travellers would leave the road to ſee Holywell in Flintſhire, which, like the kings of old, wants a poet; but here, numerous groups of philoſophic pilgrims of Italy, France, and England, come to pay their tribute of adoration to the hovering ſpirit of departed poeſy, and rival, in numbers, the viſitants of Meillierie, or the fanatic idolaters of Loretto. From this poetic

etic fountain, the Gallic Helicon, I directed my ſteps to the little, but neat town of Carpentras, and croſſing the province of Dauphiné over rivers and mountains, and through long and extenſive foreſts, mounted the high paſs of the Col de Menin, examined the natural curioſities of Mont Aiguille*, and thence proceeded acroſs an extenſive plain to the city of Grenoble. After I returned to Geneva, I prepared for another mountain excurſion, and during my walk to Evian, anticipated the various pleaſures of re-aſcending the Valais to Brigg, and of

* This ſingular mountain, eſteemed one of the ſeven wonders of this romantic province, is more frequently called *Montagne renverſée*. It preſents the ſingular appearance of a pyramid, whoſe point is ſunk in earth, and the baſe lifted up to heaven; and from the ſhepherd, whoſe numerous flocks can barely browze on the adjoining barren hills, its luxuriant herbage extorts many a pious murmur againſt the miſplaced bounty of heaven.

of croſſing the Sempione Paſs, perhaps with the officer of Spain, who, about that time, would return from Sierre, by Genoa, to Barcelona. It was my intention to have viſited the Lago Maggiore, and thence to have aſcended the Ticino, whoſe volume of waters I had before ſeen at Pavia, and croſſing the Mont St. Gothard, and by the valley of the Norder Rhine, to have followed the river to the lake of Conſtance, and from the falls of Lauffen, near Schaffhauſen, to have paddled down a boat to Cologne. But all theſe airy projects were eaſily interrupted; and when at Evian, I aroſe at an early hour of the morning (fifteenth October) to purſue my journey, diſcovering the lower mountains covered with ſnow, I immediately relinquiſhed my undertaking. The weather was extremely cold, and dreading a ſtill ſeverer

verer change, I hired a boat to carry me acroſs the lake to Lauſanne, and thence, by Yverdun and Bienne, I walked in five days to Baſle.

The afternoon, I employed in ſuiting myſelf with a boat, which, after a long-winded bargain, I finally purchaſed for two crowns: I thought I had bought this three planked canoe extremely cheap; but when I offered to ſell it to a fiſherman, at the bridge of the Rhine, at Straſbourg, he aſſured me it was worth only forty ſous. I was fluſhed with the ambition of adventure, and the hopes of a ſpeedy and proſperous voyage to Cologne; and though I had walked all the preceding morning on the road, and in the afternoon about the city, and had greatly fatigued myſelf, I could not repreſs the waking dreams of imagination,

nation, and compoſe my mind to reſt. I aroſe early, and carried my day's proviſions to my boat; and at half paſt eight, by the clocks of France, puſhed off from the ſide; but before I had ſeated myſelf to my oars, I overſet my boat, and tumbled into the river. It was luckily ſhallow: I ſoon was on my feet; and righting, and bailing my boat, got in again; and in oppoſition to the apprehenſions, and remonſtrances of the people on the banks, puſhed farther into the current of the river. I happily ſhot the bridge; and a little below the town pulled off my clothes, and ſpread them at the head of the boat to dry. In this manner I paſſed Huningue; and though the French guards there are remarkably ſtrict, and ſtop all boats with paſſengers, they let me paſs, conſidering me, as I ſuppoſe, an innocent fiſherman.

man. But, however, this was a day of trouble and fatigue: I frequently could not prevent the boat bulging againſt the banks: once it was nearly overſet by a tree in the river; and three times I was ſtranded in ſhallow water, and obliged to wade in and puſh it into the deeper current. The circumſtance of falling into the river at the commencement of the voyage, though I did not believe in omens, however, made a deep impreſſion upon me; and I continued my journey, all that day, with ſecret fear and trembling. In ſome parts the river was dilated over the broad ſurface of a mile; in ſome places it was not fifty yards over, variouſly ſmooth and tranquil, or rocky and rough. During the greater part of the day the villages ſeemed numerous on the river; and on the approach of night I was determined to deſcend, as long as I could ſee. For ſome minutes

minutes I expected, at every turn of the river, the conſoling proſpect of a village, at which I might refreſh myſelf and ſleep. The proviſions, and bottle of wine I had bought at Baſle, I had greedily devoured before one o'clock, and now found my appetite exceſſively whetted by the keen air of the twentieth of October, and the laborious occupation of a gondolier. The night ſet in: I ſaw no villages; but hearing the ſhrill clarion of cocks, I was certain I was not far from habitations. I drew my boat upon ſhore; hid ſome few articles of its *equipage* among the adjoining willows; and throwing my knapſack over my back, walked weſtward to diſcover an inn. But, alas! after ſix hundred yards, I was ſtopped by another ſtream of water, which, after following a little, I was convinced, was another branch of the river. I returned to my boat; but it was too dark

dark to deſcend lower. I had no alternative,—ſo made myſelf very content under this ſingular misfortune; cut down ſome willow branches for my cover, and with a board from the boat, made a dry bed under the trees. I attempted to ſleep; but the dew of the night, ſoon loading the branches of the trees with water, began to drop copiouſly upon me. I then changed my bed, I cannot ſay for a better; but as I ſlept ſoundly, I had no reaſon to complain. Drawing my boat farther on ſhore, I laid one plank at the bottom, and with another plank above me, and protected by the willow branches, which I brought from my firſt bed, I defied the midnight air, and witches of the Rhine, and courting the tutelary protection of my hovering genii, committed myſelf to the compoſing arms of ſleep. The cocks awaked me at five o'clock; but I

was ſo cold and numb, I could barely turn myſelf. With ſome difficulty I ſhook off my heavy coverlets; and crawling from my boat to the green, endeavoured to warm myſelf by walking, running, and, finally, I had heat and ſpirits to jump. The day broke faſt upon me: I fitted up my little ſhip again; and as my laſt duty to myſelf, and this iſland, went to examine its extent and boundaries. Before I deſcended a league, I was alarmed by the cries of people, on both ſides; and though I did not underſtand the preciſe meaning of the words, I was convinced, from the motions of their heads, their violent geſticulations, and conſtant pointing to one part of the river, that there muſt be ſome imminent danger. But I was within the violence of the current, and could not recede. At a diſtance below me, I obſerved a large party of men, repairing

pairing the banks of the river, and ſoon diſcovered a violent and rapid deſcent. I ſteadied my boat, kept my oars in my hand, prepared to give it any little aſſiſtance in my power, and determined, as there was no alternative, calmly to await the event. Two men puſhed off to the edge of the fall, and their companions held their boat with a rope. I deſcended very well: they ſeized my boat with their hooks, and conducted me ſafely to the ſide. They eagerly inquired if I was a Frenchman; but when they diſcovered I was *ein Englender*, they ſtared, and moving their heads, acknowledged our countrymen brave adventurers. It began to rain; and going into a little hovel they had erected, I was accoſted by the ſuperintendant of the workmen, who, as a ſervant of a prince of the holy Roman empire, muſt, forſooth,

wear a military coat. He was very inquſitive; and among many wonderous inexplicable myſteries, was amazed how an Engliſhman ſhould know that this river went down to Cologne. They muſt be *ſorciers*; and when he explained this circumſtance, in German, to the gaping workmen, they all gravely anſwered *Ya! Ya!*

I continued my voyage down to Straſbourg; and having there provided my boat with a maſt and a ſail, I hoped that the remainder of my deſcent would be more expeditious and fortunate. I was three times robbed of the oars of my boat; in Alſace, they imputed the theft to the fiſhermen of the empire; and on the German ſide, they laid the mighty crime, with a ſneer, on the *nation*. The weather was ever afterwards unfavourable: a ſtrong north-eaſt wind, with a ſharp froſt,

froſt, oppoſed the paſſage of my bark; and two miles below Spires, where all my moſt ſtrenuous exertions could not force my boat, in the eye of the wind, to paſs a turn of the river, I bad adieu to the pleaſures of navigation; and taking my knapſack again on my ſhoulder, and leaving my immenſe wealth to the firſt finder*, directed my courſe to the imperial city of Worms.

I again travelled by water from Mayence to Cologne; but profiting by experience,

* This property might, perhaps, afterwards become the ſubject of litigation in one of the courts of the biſhop: I know not, if the German empire follows the equitable regulation of Hadrian, which divides all treaſure-trove, between the right of property and the right of diſcovery; but the lawyers of this country, if the lord of the manor had been ſevere to exact his rights, and the finder obſtinate to retain his diſcovery, would have made many learned diſtinctions on jetſam, flotſam, and ligan.

experience, I here condeſcended to contemplate the romantic beauties of the Rhine, in company. In this year (1791) the river, and the villages were full of French emigrants, who were haſtening to Coblentz to join the princes; and in every larger town of the electorate of Trêves, numerous troops of horſe and foot were learning their exerciſe, convinced they ſhould eaſily overturn the conſtitution, and give laws to the patriots. In this ſmall paſſage of one hundred and fifty miles, the eye is variouſly ſtruck by objects ſublime and terrific, or beautiful and rich, immenſe rocks, populous towns, and cloſe-ſet villages, woods of various hues, and vines, a country wide and extended, environed by hills laden with vineyards and woods, and ſometimes ſo narrow, dark, and ſavage, as ſcarcely to afford a bed for this immenſe river.

The

The Meuſe, which we afterwards deſcended from Namur to Liege, is incloſed by the moſt pleaſant, vine-charged hills, narrow, rocky, and patched with wood; and near the bourg of Ander, the opening proſpect preſents a rich amphitheatre of wood and herbage, incloſing this little town, and gentle undulations, variouſly and richly cultivated, like the little hills near Bath. Before we arrived at Huy, which has twice witneſſed the ferocity of diviſions of the contending armies, the river is ſuddenly ſhut up between two impending rocks, dry, parched, and woodleſs, forming a ſavage contraſt with the diminutive beauties, which everywhere ſurrounded us. On the ſecond day we continued our deſcent through a leſs romantic country, but abounding with every luxuriance of nature, to the poor epiſcopal city of Liege. The inſtitutions

of ſociety, the lordly government of prieſts, and the wealth of the church, which has kindly engroſſed theſe earthly baubles, have combined to debaſe the minds of the inhabitants, and eſtabliſh an eccleſiaſtical tyranny. We thence paſſed along the narrow gorges of the ſmall, but beautiful hills, to Chaude Fontaine; and after refreſhing ourſelves with the ſalubrious hot-bath, we croſſed the little hill into the road of Spa; and from this neſt of gamblers, purſued our journey through the neat town of Malmedy, and by a moſt depopulated country, to the electoral city of Trêves.

I have ſorborn to deſcribe the romantic beauties of the Rhine, from Mayence to Cologne, becauſe theſe awful, grand, and ſmiling views, having been ſeen by every traveller, muſt remain deeply impreſſed upon their minds,

minds, and have ſo often employed the deſcriptive powers of proſe, of poetry, and painting: but as the delicious banks of the Moſelle are, no where that I know of, deſcribed, or have been the objects of military ſurveys only, I ſhall be more minute in the relation of our paſſage from Trêves to Coblentz. We arrived at the former city, after a very long, and frequently trackleſs march, acroſs the edges of the Auſtrian Luxembourg, and the electorate of Trêves; and having been, for three days, accuſtomed to nothing but bare heaths, rare and ſcanty woods and paſture, our eyes were, in a moment, ſtruck with the moſt highly cultivated, rich, and variegated proſpect imaginable. We were warned of the ſudden tranſition to riches and beauty by a countryman, who accompanied us from near Bidbourg; we ſtood aſtoniſhed, for ſome

time, at the ſudden and partial bounty of nature, and then admired, and pointed out to each other ſome ſtriking beauties of the landſcape. But this clodpole, who could hardly read the title page of the quarto book, which he was carrying to a prieſt of Trêves, and though the burthen of this religious volume ſhould have communicated pious thoughts, and made him the enemy of the diſturbers of ſocial order, could not forbear returning to his dear friends of France; and pointing to ſeveral elevations on this, and the other ſide, and then, as if he was aiming a cannon, he vociferated, that the patriot cannon would ſoon deſtroy the Auſtrian garriſon, and the lofty cathedral of Trêves. Theſe elevated grounds, from which we now viewed the ſouthern and weſtern proſpect, we afterwards examined from the other ſide of the river, and found them va-

riouſly

riouſly charged with many-coloured vines, and vine-encircled hermitages, ſome wood, and capped with corn.

The next morning, we purſued our journey, by a boat, down the river, and arrived, in the evening, at the village of Kinnain, near Traarbach. In every part of this deſcent, our eyes were amuſed with obſerving the elegant beauties of nature, mixed with every variety and wantonneſs; on the hills of the north, the moſt abundant luxuriance of vines, and on the ſouth, woods, paſture, and corn, hills of different elevations, between which the little dales diſplayed the moſt rich and yellow harveſt. This river is, perhaps, the moſt circuitous of Europe; and at every hundred yards the traveller is preſented with ſtrangely va-

ried proſpects, which ſeem to make another landſcape. At Pfalzel, the river firſt alters its courſe; and there the vines luxuriouſly crowd the northern hills; and all below is variouſly mixed with vines, wood, paſture, and ſome little corn land. As we approached Welen and Zelting, the evening drew nigh: the ſun, though ſet to us, gilded the vine-covered hills of the eaſt, and threw a ſtrong ray of light on the ſides of the northern hill, whilſt immediately below, the vines ſeemed dark and ſombrous, and its beams capped the rocky and heathy ſummit of a more diſtant and lofty mountain, like a helmet. The river was, everywhere, crowded with boats, aſcending and deſcending, charged with the various ammunition and forage for the troops or garriſon of Luxembourg and the Saar; and amidſt this preparation

preparation of war, and impaſſioned ſhouts of the boatmen, the holy recluſe inhabited his fancied hermitage, whoſe handſome exterior, and well furniſhed inſide, ſurrounded and roofed by purple-coloured vines, and everywhere acceſſible to the profane ſteps of men, did not convince me that he had deſerted the world, or that, in ſuch delicious retirements, he might not indulge in the wicked enjoyments of ſociety.

The next day, at an early hour, we paſſed the little Bourg of Traarbach, which had the year before witneſſed the cowardice of four thouſand panic ſtruck Pruſſians, before four hundred French huſſars; and coaſting the black precipices of Mont Royal, ſuddenly opened again into an undulating plain. The river thence turned to the hills of the north. Four or five

miles lower, we left our boat; and aſcending a vine covered hill, paſſed the monaſtery * of ———, and dropped down, the wood on the north ſide, to the village of Allof. When our boat arrived at this village, from a long circuitous paſſage round the peninſula,

* The ſons of the church, who did once hold an unlimited controul over the infant minds of ſociety, and now have too much ſway over the actions and paſſions of mankind, have invariably ſelected the moſt beautiful and rich, or the moſt romantic and ſublime ſituations for their religious houſes. On this inſulated hill, the monks can amuſe their pious hours with the exhilarating food of grapes, or under the ſhades of an ancient ſacred wood, may view the delicious proſpects; of ſummer in the cool ſhades of autumn, or in winter, warm their frozen veins on the ſouthern ſide, which reflects the heat of the ſun, and awards the cold and piercing blaſt of the north. At this place the land is not two hundred yards acroſs, and might be eaſily cut through, and made paſſable with a lock. The river makes a circuit of five or ſix miles.

inſula, we purſued our journey down to Kochem, through a country equally fruitful, but leſs romantic; and the next day at noon, arrived at the city of Coblentz.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

NOBLESSE.

THE authors who have written upon monarchical government, have generally concluded, that the excellence of this ſpecies of controul depends upon the influence, which the ariſtocratical portion of the ſubjects maintain over the actions of the king; and that a nobility, as the intermediate power between the monarch and the people, ſerves to temper the deſpotic commands of the former, and moderate the blind and lawleſs ſovereignty of the latter. But this can only take place, where the nobility forms a part of

of the legiſlative body; and then their mediation may ſometimes protect the rights of the people, and the juſt prerogatives of the crown. A monarch, who ſits pre-eminent in his inſulated dignity, and is not ſurrounded, and divided from his ſubjects, by a body of nobility, ſeldom exerciſes his abſolute power for the benefit of the people: a ſucceſſion of Antonines is ſeldom found in the annals of mankind; or if one ſolitary example may be diſcovered amidſt a century of kings, the ſucceſſor, a "licentious youth, or jealous tyrant, may abuſe, to the deſtruction, that abſolute power, which his predeceſſor had exerted for the benefit, of the people." In Turkey, where the will of the Sultan is the law of the land, where his capricious humour is reſtrained by no fundamental conſtitution, where his good and bad actions are equally applauded by the ſlaves and

and janizaries, who ſurround him, exiſts a pure monarchy; and from this unadulterated ſource, the friends of abſolute power and divine delegation may deduce the happieſt arguments to prove the ſuperior condition of man, under the immediate vice-royalty of God, and abaſh the bold ſpeculatiſts, who dare to think, that mankind can be happy under any other modification of government. It was an opinion in France, diligently inculcated by the privileged orders, that the monarchy was founded upon the firm baſis, and inſeparably blended with the intereſts, of the nobility, whoſe numerous families inhabited every part of the kingdom, and aſſiſted to repreſs the emulous and murmuring ſpirit of the people; and that if their exemptive claims and privileges were aboliſhed, the king would not much longer ſit upon his throne. The juſtice of theſe obſervations

tions has been lately verified, during the calamitous period of the revolution: but as the nobles ſedulouſly endeavoured to increaſe the power of the crown beyond former limits, and blindly encouraged the extravagance and follies of the princes, the loſs of their wealth and honours is imputable to themſelves. There is a moment in nature and ſociety, when vice will correct itſelf, beyond which human patience cannot proceed, and from which it will ſuddenly, and with elaſtic violence, rebound to its natural condition. In France, the people were oppreſſed by the king, the farmers-general, and the ſeignorial lords, till their labour was nearly conſumed by the exactions of their maſters, and nothing was left to cheer their cares, and feed their children, but black-bread and water. But in England, where the nobility have eſpouſed the

cauſe of the people, they have moderated their turbulence, leſſened the exuberant power of the monarch, and remain themſelves the brighteſt jewel of the crown. Modern alarmiſts revile the generoſity of the people, and think, that power in their hands is always dangerous: but nothing has ever been, or can be effected without them, and where, as in our country, the nobility have embraced the cauſe of mankind and of juſtice, their dignities became more reſplendent after every revolution, and they now repoſe in peace and quiet upon the boſoms of their countrymen.

But on the continent, where the nobleſſe ſtill flutter round the image of the kings, and viſit their country ſeats to exact only, with greater rigour, the little pittance, which the clemency of a ſteward could even ſpare to the wretched

wretched tenants, they have indiſſolubly attached themſelves to their kings, and become deteſted by the people; and thoſe diſaſtrous calamities, which they have experienced in one nation, will be followed by their utter ruin in the other monarchies of the continent. Modern politicians, or coffee-houſe declaimers, as they have been with reaſon ſhocked at the cruelties and exceſſes of France, and would therefore embrace the moſt debaſed condition of ſlaves, are daily decrying the happineſs of the people under a republican form of government, and deduce mighty and ponderous arguments againſt that ſyſtem, from the abuſes and corruptions, practiſed in the republics of Venice and Holland. But in fact, they are both * jealous, ill-founded, illegitimate

* Since writing this, a great revolution has been effected under the protection of the French republic;

timate ariſtocracies, in which the voice of the people was never conſulted; and even in the *ſoi-diſantes* republics of Switzerland, the governments, though well adminiſtered, are badly conſtituted. In Holland, where the votes of the Burgomaſters, and the ſuffrages of the ſtates, and ſtates general, might be extorted and obtained by the threats, promiſes, or riches of the belligerent powers, the country, though peaceable, phlegmatic, and abſorbed in commerce, has been too often the prey of the contending powers, and by their irrational government been obliged alternately to league with England againſt France, or with France againſt

public: deputies have been proviſonally appointed to a ſpecies of convention; and time only can diſcover whether the new government will watch the intereſts of the Batavian people, with greater attention, than the ſtates general; or whether, like them, they will not be the dupes of the predominant power.

againſt England, and ſacrifice its deareſt intereſts, and the peace and tranquillity of ſociety, to the capricious humour of the Stadtholder or the the penſionary. But though the ſubjects of the happy, rich, and powerful monarchies, can find many blemiſhes in theſe more democratic inſtitutions, and may wear their golden chains with leſs inquietude, becauſe their neighbours have not attained the perfection of which human nature is capable, they might bleſs the governing ſpirit, if their princes would learn moderation from the ariſtocracy of Venice, and if with that ſenſual people they could ſay, though we do not admire the conſtitution, we adore the moderation of the adminiſtrative bodies, which have ſo long preſerved our country from the horrors of war, and impoſed no new taxes for fifty years.

I have

I have ſomewhere ſeen, that, becauſe mankind, perhaps, from the endearments of infancy, have contracted a fond attachment for an old caſtle, or an ancient venerable tree, they ſhould alſo dearly cheriſh their nobility, who have been buffeted by the tempeſts of the times, which, did we know the ſecret ſpring of motion, they perhaps created; but I believe the length of genealogy will not, in theſe enlightened days, palliate the vices and follies of the privileged order. The ennobled caſts of the coaſt of Malabar deem it an abomination to touch their inferiors, whom they ſeldom approach; and if one of theſe unhappy wretches ſhould interrupt or impede the paſſage of an eaſtern ariſtocrat, he might as lawfully kill him as the ſlave-driver might lately whip to death the ſable object of his vengeance. No enquiry would be made into the murder; or

if

if it was, it could be as eaſily ſuppreſſed, as the French nobleſſe could prevent the juſtice of the country overtaking a brutal coachman, who ariſtocratically drove over the poor pedeſtrian paſſenger, and unfeelingly obſerved, it was only *un homme de moins.* The poor are everywhere the objects of oppreſſion; and however an Engliſh miniſter may boaſt of his impoſing taxes on the rich, the experience of our country and the calamitous ſituation, to which the labourer and poor are reduced in the kingdoms of the continent, ſhould inſtruct the legiſlature, that taxes, however impoſed, muſt diminiſh the comforts and enjoyments of the poor, as the burthen ultimately falls on labour. But the luxurious noble, who feels not the preſſure of want, ſeldom liſtens to complaints; and, in many countries, he does not even ſoften their ſufferings

by exterior condeſcenſion. The laws have there exempted him from taxes; and he carefully divides himſelf from the people. In France, the ſplendour of whoſe monarchy, and the greatneſs and virtues of the nobility we have been lately inſtructed to admire, this privileged order ſupported the crown in every act of oppreſſion, whilſt it did not affect themſelves; and if in the parliaments of the kingdom, a powerful orator proteſted, or perſuaded the parliament to proteſt againſt the regiſtry of any edict, the court artfully divided the oppoſitioniſts by threats and promiſes, by the honours of the baſtile*, or by the gifts of a place or penſion, with as much of that charlatan cunning, as an Engliſh miniſter has

* Many of the courtiers of France, who politely acquieſced in every ſtrong meaſure of the miniſter, would, I make no doubt, praiſe the

has lately ſtooped to employ in dividing and rewarding the alarmiſts. When the popular orator was once purchaſed, he immediately became the blind ſlave and ſupporter of the court; and though the country, as he lately declaimed, groaned under the moſt heavy impoſitions, his filmy eyes could now only ſee men eaſy in their condition, and as his riches could purchaſe a decree, and his intereſt obliged him, if he was injured, not to complain, he would declaim upon the excellence of the laws, the glory of a ruinous war, and logically prove, that juſtice was equally

the government for their gentleneſs, and could even diſcover certain honours and true happineſs in a conſolatory ſolitude, and in a bleſſed retirement under the authority of *Lettres de Cachet*; but I hope no Engliſh miniſters, or miniſterial dependants, will juſtify the impriſonment of their fellow citizens, and dare to call ſix months privation of liberty no hardſhip.

equally open to the rich and poor. Admitted into the rank of nobility, he immediately affected the paſſions and prejudices of his order, and endeavoured to ally himſelf to a rich and noble wife; or if he ſhould chance to meet the *roturiere*, whom before he loved, and thought his equal, he now beholds her with the eyes of ſeduction. To the firſt of a noble family, we muſt in general allow the ſuperiority of genius, of virtue, or of vice, which has exalted him to his new rank; but I know not, why we ſhould admit their deſcendants to be more innocent than them, unleſs in that ſpecies of indifference and imbecillity, which ariſes from an enfeebled procreation, or an unmanly education.

The caſt of warriors in the eaſt are poor and hardy; but if the nobleſſe of the continent were created, and

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are continued to preſerve the ſpirit of military adventure, and ſupport the glories of the monarch in war, ſociety would, as long as the depravity of mankind makes wars neceſſary, receive more benefit, if the warriors were ſelected from the peaſantry, and headed by the intelligent men of their own condition, than from the puny exertions of officers, who ſprang, as in France, from the laſcivious loins of a luxurious pampered nobility. In the countries, where polygamy is permitted, the births of females far exceed the number of males, and the women are generally more robuſt and hardy than the men. From the weakneſs, neceſſarily attendant upon this libertine inſtitution, we diſcover the reaſon why the armies of the eaſt have been ſo often beaten by comparative handfuls of Europeans; and experience ſhould teach us, that the rich and

noble, who are weakened by luxury, do not produce thoſe hardy children, capable of ſupporting the fatigues of a military life, and diſcharging their duties with honour. Their pride alſo prevented them from marrying a plebeian; and the noble woman, who might otherwiſe covet the muſcular powers of a *roturier*, cannot ſupport the galling reflection, that her children will only be entitled to an illegitimate nobility, and that her degraded paſſion will perhaps prevent her from completing the ſixty-four quarters of her ſhield *.

Commerce, which has elevated Britain above the neighbouring nations, was deſpiſed by the ignorant nobility of

* In France, it was conceived, that thirty-two quarters completed the heraldic honours, and ſhield of perfect nobility: but in Germany and Flanders, they continued this point of perfection to ſixty-four quarters.

of France; and in Brittanny alone, if a noble, wiſhing to retrieve a fortune, which perhaps had ſuffered from anceſtral extravagance, entered into commercial ſpeculations, he ſurrendered his ſword* to the parliament of Rennes, who held it in ſacred and inviolable depoſit, till, on his retirement from trade, he could reſume his ſuſpended dignities and honours. The prejudiced marquis and counts, whoſe emigration and conſequent misfortunes have wounded the ſenſibility of every heart, like the Japaneſe nobles, would not marry a plebeian for all the wealth of the world; though perhaps the father or grandfather had only thirty years before been claſſed among the ſwiniſh multitude, from whoſe unknown

* The reader will recollect Sterne's affecting tale of the ſword.

known herd he had been drawn by compulsive letters of nobility.

When the princes and nobles of France first emigrated, and assembled at Coblentz to consult on the conquest of their country, they maintained the same determined, reserved, and haughty demeanour, they had before done at their country seats; and as they were then confident of victory, they boasted and swore they would shoot the democratic peasantry, *comme des perdrix*. They were nobly elevated above the condition and failings of man; and perhaps the dying peasant might receive from their privileged and superior hand, that species of passeport which the assassinated slave receives from the dagger of the despot of Morocco, and which indubitably opens the gates of the Mahometan

tan paradiſe, and ſecures the raſcal ſlave the uninterrupted poſſeſſion of his ſeventy-two black-eyed houris of reſplendent beauty. This right of murder, which an injured nobility might lawfully claim, was eaſily purchaſed in the kingdom of France; but however emboſſed and heavy with their heraldic honours, their ſhield was perforated by the balls of the nation, and the plebeian courage, in no reſpect inferior to the virtue of their enemies, has ſince diſſipated the armies of the coaleſced powers, and crumbled into duſt the charters of privilege.

The rank of nobility was not always given as the reward of virtue; it was not ſometimes, but generally attached to a few ſordid acres of land, and was purchaſed by profane riches, to repleniſh an exhauſted treaſury. The patent, which miniſterial poverty com-

pelled him to accept, dragging an unwilling individual from his fond obſcurity, hung over him like Dameas' dagger, to diſturb his repoſe, and imbitter his pleaſures.

But the ſale of the rank of nobility was not confined to France: the Engliſh kings of the laſt century, who too frequently oppoſed the good of the country, and liſtened not to the voice of the people, who wiſhed to maintain their royal dignities without the aids of parliament, endeavoured to obtain temporary reſources by ſhip-money, benevolences, ſales of baronetage and knighthood; and at Milan, in 1750, was publiſhed, by order of the court of Vienna, a tablet of the prices of the rank of duke, count, &c. The exigencies of the ſtate frequently demand extraordinary ſupplies; and could the extravagances of miniſters be

be ſupported by the rich and weak, who applaud their meaſures, we might rejoice to ſee patents of nobility hawked about for ſale, like Papal diſpenſations in Spaniſh America. I can offend neither the giver or receiver, as the Engliſh chancery wax poſſeſſes not the miraculous powers of the conſecrated ſeal of the triple crown. But the acceptation ſhould be voluntary: none of my countrymen will ever be compelled, like a grazier in France, in return for thirty thouſand livres which he paid into the royal treaſury of Louis the XIVth, to accept the mighty equivalent of a patent of nobility. Though riches could purchaſe a title, and though it was often beſtowed upon the profligate and vicious, and was too frequently the reward of ſucceſsful villainy, their deſcendants ſtill hug this mark of their diſgrace; and many of the nobility of

France have preferred the empty title of duke and count, which they received at Coblentz, to the more ſubſtantial comforts of their property, and the leſs invidious rank of citizen. In Germany alſo, thoſe fancied demi-gods, who can hardly ſubſiſt on a baronial eſtate of one hundred, or two hundred* pounds a year, if they have received their noble honours from the Imperial chancery, lord it over their richer neighbours, whoſe patents have been ſealed by the electoral landgraviate or ſubordinate ſovereign power; and at Florence, the nobles in ſilk, caſt an

* Smollet relates, that among the mountains of the county of Nice, lived a nobleman, who, though extremely indigent, maintained the exterior pride and haughtineſs of the privileged order. When his ſon entered the room, he introduced him with great ceremony to that learned Engliſhman, as M. Le Chevalier, and ſoon afterwards enquiring, if *M.* —— *avoit donné a manger aux cochons*, ſent him to watch and feed our kindred animals.

an eye of diſdain upon the inferior order of wool. The philoſopher will equally deride their inſignificant pride, and the diſtinctions of nobility of the city, *terra firma*, and ſecretaries of the republic of Venice.

But the nations of Europe, though they fondly pride themſelves on ſuperior wiſdom, may take an uſeful leſſon from the deſpotic government of China, where, though there are nine ſpecies of nobility, or privileged orders, and though the people are completely enſlaved, no hereditary honours are permitted; but the ſon of the firſt officer of ſtate, if not continued in his elevation by his merit, ſinks into the maſs of his fellow ſlaves. Privilege and exemption die with the poſſeſſor; and in that enlightened empire, it is univerſally admitted, that the greateſt honours and the moſt perfect

nobility are derived from the knowledge and ſtudy of letters.

I have imperfectly related ſome of the extravagant claims of the continental nobility; but by my own perſonal obſervations I know very little of their manners; and as their power was broken before I went into France, I did not ſee them in their meridian glory. My mode of travel, however, permitted me to aſſume a thouſand varied ſhapes: I could be of any trade that ſuited my humour or my company; and I ſometimes converſed with the taylor, the ſhoe-maker, or the nobleſſe. *Monſ. le Perruquier*, or *Monſ. le Baron*, *Meſdemoiſelles les Poiſſardes*, or *Mademoiſelle la Marquiſe*, were alternately my companions; and with each I aſſumed a character beſt ſuited to their taſte. With the one I lamented the unhappy fate

fate of degraded ariſtocracy, the ruin of the religion they had lately renewed their attention to; and to the emigrant, or diſcontented dignitary of the church, I confeſſed my implicit reliance upon the decrees of ſynods and councils. Though educated in proteſtantiſm, and early taught to liſp my abhorrence of Romiſh doctrines, I then ſaw the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion: and, doubting thoſe ſubſtantial doctrines of the reformation, I appeared ready to embrace the truth of the catholic faith.

I flattered myſelf with the hope of being permitted to inſert a woeful tale of the loves of a chevalier near Blois, and a young bourgeoiſe, his conſequent impriſonment and inſanity, the barbarous rigour of his noble father, the bleſſed effects of *Lettres de cachet*, and the mild controul of the

ancient government; but as the gentleman, who is poſſeſſed of the facts, intends to throw the ſubſtance into the ſtile of a novel, the public will receive it in a much more finiſhed form, than if curtailed and deſpoiled of its numerous circumſtances, to ſuit the varied and detached method of the Wanderer.

Another friend, who reſided ſome months at Dijon, in the happy equal days of the abſolute monarchy, and had been there introduced to the neighbouring nobleſſe, was early taught to deſpiſe their empty pride, and aſſociate with the better informed bourgeois. In the firſt weeks of his reſidence, he had made the tour of the noble families, and was everywhere received as a welcome friend. His hours were continually broken in upon by theſe idle, officious, and intruſive companions;

companions; and being recommended to their notice as *Gentilhomme Anglois*, he was accepted and treated upon the terms of equality. But as in England, the higher orders do not divide themſelves with ſcrupulous nicety from the profane untitled people, and finding the converſations of the ariſtocrat parties, little concordant with his education, and habits of thinking, or convinced, like our countrymen, of the natural equality of man, he ſought for a more happy ſociety among the men of the college, and the degraded bourgeois. He was diſguſted with the alternate ſtern rigour and relaxed manners of the prieſts, deſpiſed the ceremonious etiquette of the nobles, and hoped to enjoy, and and obſerve at leiſure, the gay, unreſtrained, and more innocent manners of the *ci-devant canaille*.

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The revolution had not then broken down the barriers and diſtinctions of ſociety: a ſubmiſſive obedience was devoutly inculcated, and as devoutly practiſed by the people; and as he had been the aſſociate of the nobleſſe, his company was generally conſidered as an honour. They then aſpired not to judge of the affairs of ſtate, and confided implicitly upon the wiſdom and councils of miniſters and courtiers; but this happy indifference was, ſoon after, unaccountably tranſmuted into a ſuſpicious patriotiſm, and unruly licentiouſneſs. Whilſt he aſſociated with, and obſerved the manners of, the high and ennobled, he imbibed ſome of their prejudices; but the ſubſequent company of the people again reduced his mind to its Engliſh form. He early contracted a ſtrong friendſhip for a man of intellect, whoſe converſation had

had both inſtructed and amuſed him: and as every thing in his manners beſpoke and created pleaſure, my friend frequented his ſociety with greater ſatisfaction than that of the *Meſſieurs comme il-faut.* This conduct, he afterwards underſtood, gave diſguſt to ſome of his former noble friends: and as he was one day walking on the walls of Dijon, with this man of letters, he accoſted ſeveral families with all the plebeian politeneſs he was maſter of. But they did not return his civilities, as they formerly had done; and ſeeing the father of one ennobled family following his children, with his hat in hand, he was determined to inquire the reaſon of the change. It required ſome addreſs to engage this *ariſtocrat* even to ſpeak; but as his amiable companion drew farther off, the father, at laſt, condeſcendingly threw upon him

him a glance of contempt, and with a moſt ſignificant ſhrug, and head nearly repoſing upon his right ſhoulder, informed him, that man was not a good companion. My friend was aſtoniſhed; and after a moment's pauſe, ſuſpecting this amiable man of ſome great moral defect, ſuddenly demanded —*Mais pourquoi?*—He was not a gentleman—*n'etoit pas un homme comme il faut*—but his literature, my friend thought, entitled him to reſpect, and he praiſed his attainments. The ariſtocrat vociferated *canaille*, and walked away. My friend followed him, and in his paſſion anticipated what was afterwards ordained by the equalizing decrees of the aſſembly. You were recommended to our family, ſaid he, *comme gentilhomme Anglois*, but you aſſociate with ———. My countryman ſoon underſtood him; and like a free born

born Engliſhman, told him a more general, and Engliſh conſtruction of *gentilhomme*. He ſtarted back at the degradation; and, becauſe the foreigner had breathed the air of liberty, and of England, he was loaded with the bittereſt epithets, and accuſed of the deſire to introduce into France, the diabolical and wicked democracy * of England. *Les fiers Anglois*, who viſit this univerſity, ſaid he, will inſinuate into our youths the doctrines of liberty. My friend could no longer reſtrain his paſſions: his eyes glanced with rage: the ariſtocrat quickened his pace; and my countryman, abjuring for ever the ſociety and *bagatelle* of an ignorant nobleſſe, and returning to finiſh his evening

* I underſtand, that the miniſters of France diſcouraged all converſations upon the conſtitution and liberty of England; and, that during the war, the admirers of our country were frequently purified by the ordeal of the Baſtile.

ing walk with the man of intellect, hoped the awakening nation would ſoon ſuppreſs the unnatural privileges of the few, and mortify and reduce their pride and dignities to the level of mankind.

In England, long ſince, diſappeared the gothic caſtle, and immenſe hall of arms, where the liveried retainers daily invented new ſyſtems of oppreſſion to ſupport, or increaſe the numerous eſtabliſhment of their lord. The nobleſſe of France, rivetted to their prejudices, and their lofty caſtles, ſeverely maintained their haughty and reſerved diſtance; and in contempt of the dawning reaſon of man, neglected to cultivate the good will of their tenants, and moderate the ſucceeding tyranny of the people. The feudal payments and ſervices were, everywhere, rigorouſly exacted; and though the

the abuſe and deſtruction of the military tenures in England, might, by affording an example, have ſerved to delineate a rule of conduct, the habitude of tyranny, the extravagance of the lord, and the ſeverity of the bailiffs combined to ſtretch the cord, which bound the people, till it broke.

The poor ſlaves, ſuddenly exalted to the rank, and uncontrouled condition of freemen, could not, always, bear their new honours with moderation and juſtice. During their debaſed and unmanly ſervitude, groaning under every effort of oppreſſion, they, with a ſpirit, natural to man, encouraged the hopes of a change and the pleaſures of revenge; and when the peaſantry beheld themſelves armed with the authority of laws, and the ponderous

ponderous arguments of their weighty *ſabres*, they too frequently deſpiſed the ſubtile, and once potent advances of the *epée**. The nobles were conſcious of the injuſtice they had practiſed upon the people; and when the revolution had liberated the plebeian from the ſhackles of the ariſtocracy, they, as well as the prieſts, ſhrank from the ſtare of the oppreſſed.

Inſults were daily offered them; and as their pride, or fears exaggerated the miſeries of their condition, they were alarmed at every blaſt; but how

* I have ſeen an old noble, who, I make no doubt, loved his epée more than his belly, almoſt quarrel with a man who called it, perhaps contemptuouſly, a ſabre. The former diſtinguiſhed the perſon of the ariſtocracy, the latter of the people; and I have frequently heard the Chevaliers of St. Louis, in private converſation, nick-name the *bas-peuple*, *meſſieurs de ſabre*.

how a non-juring prieſt and noble ſhould believe me a murderer, I know not, unleſs the phyſiognomy of liberty did not accord with the ſubmiſſive countenance, they thought, ſhould be excluſively appropriated to the faithful believer, and good peaceable ſubject.

At the epiſcopal city of Soiſſons, where, as we were deſtitute of a paſſeport and recommendation, we dreaded the appearance of a blue coat, I reſolved, after three days confinement, to brave the eyes of the world; and walking upon the walls, near the gate of Compienne, ſoon met a noble and a prieſt, who, moſt probably for the ſame reaſons, had ſought that ſolitude. I was then engaged with the grammar, and paſſed them without a ſalute. Soon afterwards I ſhut my book, and accidentally brandiſhed my ſtick, which,

which, though it might be of formidable appearance, was unfit for either offence or defence. At the end of the curtain, I turned, and, without obſerving them, twirled my ſtick in paſtime, and alternately repeated the tenſes of *avoir* and *être*. They met me again; and upon my turning ſoon afterwards, they both ran away along a ſmall alley. The next day, when the confeſſor waited upon the miſtreſs of the hôtel, ſeeing me paſs through the yard, he acquainted her, that his dear friend, M. L'Abbé Choſe, had been very much frightened by that man. I was then called in; and the ſon, who ſpoke very good Engliſh, explained the alarm of the noble, and non-juring prieſt; that, convinced of my ferocious diſpoſition, and ſans-culotte brutality, they had fled to avoid a ſound caſtinado. I laughed, for though at that moment,

from

from my own apprehenſion and fear, a blaſt of wind would have levelled me with the ground, I was flattered, that my countenance was ſufficiently determined to abaſh a proud ſeignorial lord, and a firm believer in the infallibility and omnipotent protection of the church.

CHAP. VI.

MANNERS.

I do not profeſs to make a treatiſe upon manners; but if I relate a few anecdotes and incidents, which may ſerve to delineate them, and throw a glowing, or faint tint upon the ſubject, I ſhall anſwer every thing, I propoſed to myſelf, in this deſultory work. The manners of nations receive their colour from the influence of climate and religion, the form and conſtitution of government, and diſplay very different characters, or various ſhades, in proportion to the tyranny and deſpotiſm of their political

litical and religious maſters, or according to the extent of the liberties of the ſubject. The inſtitutions of ſociety, the impriſonment of the youngfemales in convents, and the ſubſequent liberties, which the ladies, when married, and when they obſerve, and are ſeen by the world, think they have a right to take—the inquiſition, civil and religious, and the ſecret means of vengeance, which the governments too often, and individuals unreluctantly practiſe, have combined to darken the temper of the Italian, to add to his hot animal ſpirits and irraſcibility, the more ſlow and penſive eye of jealouſy, and make him form thoſe vindictive deſigns, to which many of our Engliſh gallants have frequently fallen victims. The Spaniard, who once boaſted of the liberties of the people, and thought the national honour repoſed in the wiſdom of the Cortes of the kingdom,

has not yet forget his ancient valour and renown; and though ſubjugated by the victorious arms of Louis, and as the ſlaves of a deſpotic monarch, ſhould have imbibed all the ſuppleneſs of that condition, he ſtill maintains a mixed character. The memory of former times has made him proud, penſive, and grave; the tyranny of the government confirms him in idleneſs; and the Spaniſh beggar, who ſolicits charity from the well-dreſſed foreigner, nationally deſpiſes the hand that beſtows. If in Catalonia and Biſcay, the people breathe ſomething of the unſubdued haughty ſpirit of liberty, and though they deteſt the French with the rancorous animoſity of an Engliſh ſailor, they alſo abominate the government and monarch, who ſprang from the loins of the French king, and in ſuſpence, would rather embrace the cauſe of the republic and liberty than

of

of deſpotiſm, and of the deſcendant of a Bourbon. The court, and the inquiſition, to whom liberty appears equally terrible, have taken the moſt ſovereign precaution to humble and break the proud ſpirit of the Catalan and Biſcayan, and to reduce theſe fine provinces to the common level and impotence of Valencia *, and the reſt of Spain.

The French, the name of whoſe king was fondly repeated in the agonies

* In this province, where the heat of the climate has burnt up the ſoil, and made it neceſſary to introduce the moſt copious irrigation, the abundance of water has impoveriſhed the vegetable, and debilitated the animal, world, to the truth of which an old proverb yields ample teſtimony, "In Valencia meat is herbs, herbs are water, men are women, and women nothing;" and to this ſtate of the body, the government and church have endeavoured, and too ſucceſsfully effected, to aſſimilate the mind.

nies of death, and who boaſted of their gay humour, of their love for their kings and for monarchy, diſplayed, in every reſpect, the character of a people, enchained by deſpotiſm, idle, vain, and frivolous, and like the ſlaves of China, " ſpeaking much without ſubſtance, full of wit without genius, abounding in ſigns, but deſtitute of ideas; polite flatterers, dexterous cheats and rogues, who conſidered all their duties as etiquettes, morality as nonſenſe, and cheriſhed no other humanity than ſalutations and bows." Theſe accompliſhed courtiers, whoſe tones the reſt of enſlaved Europe blindly imitated, attached to abſolute monarchy by places and penſions, openly abuſed the liberties of England; and becauſe a guilty monarch periſhed on the ſcaffold, and gave the firſt, and moſt awful example of the juſtice of the people, and of retribu-

tion

tion on earth, becauſe the eſtabliſhment of our rights were attended with civil wars, with murder and proſcriptions, and becauſe the gradual invaſions of the throne on the rights of the people too frequently cauſed diſſenſions, petitions, and remonſtrances, which they, like the alarmiſts of modern days, regarded "as clogs upon the wheel of government," they repreſented the Engliſh nation as a people wicked, inconſtant, more fluctuating and tempeſtuous than the ſeas that ſurround us. Though we are not a military nation, they were obliged to acknowledge, in our ſailors and ſoldiers, and our brothers of Scotland, the energies, pride, and valour of liberty.

This thrice ſweet and gracious goddeſs, whoſe terrible ſword, drawn from the ſcabbard of peace, effected the

utter ruin and deſolation of the enſlaved provinces of Rome, brought not the kindred genii of peace and humanity to heal the wounds of the conquered.

That eaſe and freedom, of which the barbarians boaſted in the wilds and foreſts of Germany and the north, was denied to the peaceable inhabitants of the countries they over-ran; and every principle of juſtice was then ſacrificed to the deſire of alternate indolence and war, love of money, and of delicious wines, which too frequently occaſioned a battle, a war, or a revolution. In the manners of the modern Germans, drunkenneſs ſtill appears the moſt predominant vice. The love of indolence, however, decayed with the improvement of civilized ſociety, and though military glory, and the honours and parade of the

the field ſtill infatuate the minds of the German *princes*, the *people* are everywhere laborious and peaceable. An ideal liberty is fondly cheriſhed by the people: the forms of it are aſſiduouſly continued in exterior; and though the princes hold their ſubjects in the moſt abject ſlavery, the decrees and reſcripts, and the pious miſſionaries of the kings and princes eagerly preach, and endeavour to alarm the people for the ſafety and liberties of the Germanic empire. But in examining in what conſiſts the liberty of Germany, the hiſtorian or the traveller is convinced, that the princes and nobles, who alone have ſeats or influence in the diet, have the moſt uncontrouled liberty to protect themſelves, their prerogatives, or ſeignorial exemptions; but that the people are conſidered, as the legal plunder of their maſters. More infatuated than

the people of Germany with the found of liberty, are the poor defenceleſs giant Hungarians: their nobles, who conſtitute the ſtates of the kingdom, carefully preſerve, as much as poſſible, their privileges from the continual invaſions of the "good faith" of Auſtria; and the penſioners, or lords, who hold grants from the Imperial bounty, aſſiduouſly perſuade the people that they are free, which theſe poor wretches, though made the conſtant ſport of recruiters and forced levies *, credulouſly admit. Conſcious of

* I did intend to write requiſitions, but as that word is unfortunately expreſſive of forced levies in France, and as it is uſed by a convention, with whom we muſt never negociate, by infidels, raſcals, atheiſts, banditti, and regicides, I thought it would be leſs offenſive to Engliſh and royal ears to write forced levies. Beſides the latter does not infringe upon the liberty of the rich ſubject; the former involves the rich and *ci-devant* nobleſſe in the calamities of war, and if it takes the poor labourer

of happineſs and comforts, ſuperior to their neighbours of the Turkiſh frontiers, they are calmly reſigned to the oppreſſions of their Imperial maſter, pride themſelves upon their honeſty and frankneſs, and thank heaven, they are not like the deceitful Greek.

All the nations of Europe are unfortunately too fond of military honours, of war and murder; but though this predilection ſeems an inherent defect of the human conſtitution, the policy of a good government ſhould endeavour to correct and eradicate

labourer from his family, barbarouſly aſſigns the commune for their ſupport. The regular governments feel the moſt lively horror at ſeparating the ariſtocrat from his domeſtic comforts; but the poor may be crimped and ſtolen from their families; and though their cries are not heard before the earthly thrones, they will reach the ears of a more benign king in heaven.

dicate it. In the far greater portion of the earth, the powers of government, of compoſing the diſſenſions and quarrels of nations, or of provoking their reſentment, and diſturbing the peace and repoſe of mankind, have generally been entruſted to one perſon, ſometimes elective, generally hereditary, diſtinguiſhed by the nations under the various names and power of emperor, king, prince, and ſultan, who too frequently, as they are but men, and as abſolute power corrupts the beſt intentioned minds, yielding to the impulſe of revenge, of pride, and caprice, precipitate their ſubjects into many unneceſſary wars. Even that ſolitary and inſulated dignity, which the pious faith of former ages, and the artful ambition of prieſts has erected on the Tiber, and who, as the pope, as the father of mankind and vicegerent of the peaceable, mild, and humane

humane Chriſt, ſhould have compoſed all our earthly diſſenſions, has been invariably more engaged in unſheathing the ſword, than in commenting upon, and explaining the mild precepts of chriſtianity. The mind of one man, as it muſt be variouſly actuated, is incapable of ſecuring the peace of the world or a nation; and if the majority of mankind conſulted their own intereſts, the right of declaring war would never be entruſted to one perſon; or at leaſt the power of granting or withholding ſupplies for its proſecution, and of judging of its expediency* ſhould be veſted, as in England, in a large body of national repreſentatives. The animal ſpirits and

* The intereſts of the community are too frequently ſacrificed, even in England, to the caprice of the miniſter and the borough-holders. A war with Ruſſia was however prevented, by a numerous minority; but in general the body of the repreſentatives

and irritability of the people would be thus tempered by the moderation of the councils; and all ſubjects would ſoon follow the peaceable, plodding, and induſtrious life of Switzerland.

In theſe cantons, though the traveller muſt acknowledge the general happy appearance of this free people, he immediately obſerves a very marked diſtinction in the manners and cuſtoms of the proteſtant and catholic chriſtians, and is frequently ſurprized, that the narrow current of a river, the hedge of a field, or ſome arbitrary ſigns of demarcation, can effect ſuch mighty change in their manners, tempers, and phyſiognomy. The Swiſs are

repreſentatives admire the golden influence of the treaſury bench, and vote for the ſchemes, whether juſt or abſurd, of the court. They voted away twenty-four millions of money without oppoſition, but aſſembled in unuſual numbers to oppoſe the limitation of franking.

are all free; or if the conſtitution is ariſtocratic, the prudence of the government has prevented any invaſion upon the rights of the people. They all diſplay the exterior air of liberty, but in different ſhades. The catholic, whoſe mind is religiouſly enſlaved, whoſe ſoul is wrapt up in ceremonies and myſtic ſigns, and who places all excellence in a ſcrap of the chriſtian alcoran, or holy ablution, preſents not half the nobility of the proteſtant: as he walks, he appears low, humble, and cringing; and if he ſalutes the paſſenger, Jeſus Chriſtus drops from his mouth with fear, and his eye aſkance diligently examines, if he has accoſted a friend, and a *chriſtian**.

But

* I have heard an ignorant catholic affect to conſider the proteſtants as of a different religion, and not to allow, that they were chriſtians. Having been told that they were heretics, he was convinced, they were not chriſtians.

But the proteſtant Swiſs, in the full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, of public and private comforts, exhibits a phyſiognomy bold, aſpiring, and generous, accoſts the traveller with frankneſs, and feeling the dignity and equal rights of man, and knowing how to appreciate them, ſtands unabaſhed before the glittering coat, or ſplendid train of the foreign nobles, who viſit the ſtraw-thatched ſheds of Switzerland, with the retinue of an eaſtern Nabob. Free himſelf, he permits and tolerates* the freedom of public worſhip; and though he may ſecretly deride the ſplendid inanity of catholic adoration, and pity their errors and deluſions, he reverently bows

* In ſome parts of Switzerland, where the religion is mixed, the proteſtant and catholic worſhip in the ſame church alternately; and neither of them, I underſtand, finds the temple polluted by the adoration of the other.

bows to their ſuperſtition, and purſues his own way to heaven, with plain ſimple manners, and in the common verſion and language of the country.

In the Imperial dutchy of Milan, I witneſſed ſome of the moſt ſtrange extravagancies of the human mind, the moſt fantaſtic mixture of ſuperſtitious adoration, and wild debauchery. We arrived late in the evening at Canonica, in the midſt of a moſt tremendous thunder ſtorm: fatigue, and the heat of the climate, made us repoſe there all the next day; and as the country thence to Milan was, as we were told, unintereſting, we conſented to make the journey at night, and accordingly paſſed by the boat along the canal to the Milaneze capital. Our company was as much diverſified, as in the *Coches d'Eau* on the Soane and Rhoſne; and they all laughed, joked,

joked, and ſang away the lingering hours of night. My ignorance of the language produced very ſerious evils and chagrin: as I was accidentally placed near a handſome brunetta, whoſe glancing eyes ſpoke the heat and language of the heart, I attempted, but ſeldom ſucceeded, to make myſelf underſtood. Becauſe I knew not their converſation, the company treated me as a mere animal excreſcence; and the ſignora alſo thought, ſhe might ſafely take ſome wanton liberties with this great Franceſa, and ſhew a familiarity, which Engliſh cuſtoms and prudery would not have warranted. I do not profeſs to relate every thing:—but "would ſignor marry?"—I unfortunately had a wife in England—the anſwer drew down expreſſions of contempt—but the fair ſignora, making a further eſſay on the phlegmatic-iced conſtitution of an Engliſhman, repeated

peated her queſtion, and putting her ring upon my finger, laughed and glanced—and —— —— ——. I calmly returned my former anſwer, to which ſhe moſt violently vociferated Inghilterra! *in fede mia! non è Italia.* Every paſſenger ſeemed equally engaged; every female equally unreſerved; and in all the boat an old lady, of ſeventy, perhaps, was the only perſon who maintained a becoming ſilence, and a modeſt demeanour. The women complained of the heat—(the heat of the climate, or the heat of their conſtitution?)—but their countrymen thought, their proximity had occaſioned it. The young woman at my ſide, though perhaps very prudiſh, endeavoured to increaſe the equivoques; and as ſhe thought, that even her cold neighbour had communicated ſome heat, one of her gallants officiouſly placed his handkerchief as a

further

further curtain. I ſuddenly roſe; and compenſating the want of language by the violence of geſticulation, my rage drew forth general exclamations of *oh! quale ſdegno! oh! quale rabbia!* In another corner of the boat, ſome men were playing at morra, and ——— ———: Curſe on the times! ſaid I; but a more modeſt lover, gracefully graſping his Cara Spoſa's ———, and inſiſting that I ſhould imitate the ſame warm compreſſure, he forcibly guided my hand to a female knee. Though under the controul of arbitrary power, nature reclaimed her empire—I ſqueezed with firmneſs —— —— ————————: he exclaimed, and the company joined, *bravo! bravo! braviſſimo come un' Italiano.* Merit ſuch as this muſt be warmly rewarded; and this dear gentleman aroſe, and expreſſed an inclination to embrace ——— ———.

Amidſt

Amidſt all this lacivious jollity, obſcene and unnatural careſſes, the midnight bell rang—all aroſe, muttered, bleſſed, and made the myſtical and ſanctifying ſign of the croſs—and then ſtood ſome moments ſilent. The ſignora, whom I cannot ſay was a pattern of chaſtity, broke the ſilence by a fervent ejaculation; and her gallant, and the whole company, with the old modeſt lady, anſwered in a noiſy tone.—*Ave Maria, et Jeſum Chriſtum, amen!* was a hundred times repeated, with every variety of tone and cadence; and cloſing a long quarter of an hour's Latin ———, I know not what to call them, ſignora concluded by *Maria gratiæ plena, amen!* The religious repaſt was immediately, and without a moment's intermiſſion, ſucceeded by the moſt wanton and luxurious deſerts, which nature can beſtow, to gratify the human palate; but

but I did not wiſh ———, indeed I could not imitate an Abyſſinian dinner; and I retired to the outſide of the boat, to enjoy the chaſte and cool air of the night.

Indeed once in Germany, as we deſcended with a very numerous company, in a large boat from Coblentz to Cologne, my chaſtity, and the whole company's modeſty were offended, by the open careſſes of an amorous pair. In the beginning, I laughed with our other aſſociates; but wiſhing to prepare a letter for a dear friend to be forwarded from Cologne, I endeavoured to write;—but as the conſtant ſmothered laughs I heard around me, and the frequent friendly hints, which the elbow of my comrade was momentarily giving me, interrupted the chain of my ideas, I laid aſide my paper, and joined in the merriment. The lady's

lady's eyes gradually cloſed: her head reclined on one ſhoulder, and ſeemed to ſwim back: and her full lips, which had been long in cloſe union with his mouth, and had imbibed the copious ſtreams of love, were convulſed and trembled. We all now admired this novel ſcence in ſilence: and after the little finale, enquiring of a German, who ſpoke French, we were informed that they were a new married couple. We knew the real value of the myſtic words of the prieſt; and as their pleaſures had received the holy benediction of the church, we did not diſturb their happy ſilent devotions.

This dear twain had not perhaps ſeen the ſecond moon; but at Langres, I met an old man, who, though married twenty-three years, bitterly wept over the elopement of his wife. He told this lamentable ſtory to every one who came

came into the inn, and with ſuch a tone, as would have moved the heart of a *log*; and he ſtill loved her with the ſame ardour as in his youth. He had come from the neighbourhood of Dijon to conſult an eminent avocat, and was determined to compel her to come again to his houſe. Nay! ſhe might even continue in adulterous intercourſe with her friend, if ſhe would only live with him. To the *fille de la maiſon*, he alſo piteouſly related his misfortunes; and ſhe, with true French convenience, adviſed Monſieur to take a gouvernante. His feelings were ſhocked at the propoſal: he ſhed tears; and could only be content with his wife.

Marriage in France was too frequently conſidered as the convenient means of indulging their deſires: the woman, who, when maid, was prudent, amiable,

amiable, and reſerved, became as in Italy, at once unconſtrained and libertine. Modeſty was a crime; and to bluſh in the preſence of a married woman inevitably drew down upon you the bittereſt ſarcaſms—"*Monſieur il n'a perdu pas encore ſon* ——— *il n'a pas* ——— *en France,*" if repeated by an old woman, did not redden the face of the young, and the debauchee warmed his frozen veins at what ſhould have raiſed the bluſh of modeſty. After I had been ſo grievouſly perplexed by my adventure on the citadel of Beſançon, and returned to the inn, ſome good-natured women came about me to enquire the reaſon of my detention, and the magnitude of my crime. I explained with the ſimplicity of youth: as I knew not much French, I was obliged to make ſhort ſentences. *Je dis—il dit—il m'a repondu—je lui repondis*—were ſo fre-

quently uſed in my relation, that they cauſed frequent burſts of laughter; and when I ſhould have thanked them for their inquiſitive benevolence, and declared my deſire of renumerating Mademoiſelle by ſhewing her *les bonnes Choſes d'Angleterre*, I unfortunately uttered a very maſculine equivoque. This little girl ſeized my book of obſervations, and would examine it: *bien dit!*—and could not be perſuaded that ſhe was not converſing with ſome ariſtocrat in diſguiſe. But my thoughts on liberty, which ſhe ſaw in my journal, perſuaded her, I was *un bon patriote*; and when ſhe diſcovered I was an Engliſhman, and conſequently concluding me rich, ſhe ran out and acquainted the inn-keeper, *que ce Monſieur Anglois ecrit bien: ma foi! il dit des choſes eclatantes!* Returning and converſing on more natural ſubjects, ſhe inſinuated a deſire ——— was not unwilling

willing to travel, *comme gouvernante.*—A coach was nothing—ſhe could walk—and would joyfully make the tour of life, *et du monde.*—None of which kind offers my cold conſtitution could accept.

Foreigners do not pay the reverence we all owe to children; they are too frequently unreſtrained in their preſence; and even in the puritanical ſober country of Holland, the huſband, father, or lover, will introduce the wife, children, and miſtreſs to the ſpielhouſe*. When I expreſſed my apprehenſions,

* In Holland, the government tolerates theſe kind of ſtews for a ſhare of the infamous wages of proſtitution; but does not, as at Florence, make a prieſt the ſuperintendant of the midnight orgies. The unfortunate victims are bought and ſold; and if any of them ſhould chance to bear children, they are *taken care* of by the owner of the

apprehenſions, that this cuſtom would inevitably debauch the minds and morals of the young, and that the early ſight of ſuch legalized exceſſes would accelerate the progreſs of vice, the patient Hollander phlegmatically inſiſted, that the early ſight of theſe enormities, impreſſed upon their minds an ineffaceable abhorrence for vice, and taught them to avoid the commiſſion in more mature age. The rich and the poorer orders of ſociety are here mixed together; and if each party pays a florin for a bottle of wine and for

the houſe. The delicacy of the Dutch is proportionate to the ſtupid, coarſe, and brutal amuſements of theſe houſes. The traveller may eaſily know them by their reflected lights, and the common ſign of the bible, without which nothing more could be done in Holland, than in Italy, can be effected, if the weary paſſenger knows not the myſtical ſign of the croſs, and cannot repeat an Ave Maria. If this is the holy religion, we have coaleſced to protect, mankind could do very well without it.

for admiſſion, no diſtinction is afterwards made. Men and women, in happy confuſion, drinking, dancing, laughing and ſleeping; but always covered with their hats. The Hollanders, who are as attached to a covered head, as the Frenchman was to his long tail, or the Swiſs is to his pipe, when they even frequent the churches, and though they affect the puritanical exterior of religion, ſeldom pull off their hats; or if a devout prayer recals them to a momentary reverence of the walls of God's temple, they haſtily again load their heads with their Quaker broad-brim hats.

The manners of the people are invariably bold or humble, in correſpondence with the deſpotiſm, civil and religious, or with the freedom and latitude of the ſubject. In deſpotic

governments the marks of ſubmiſſion and ſlavery are legible in every forehead; and though the republic of Venice, which from its name we ſhould conſider free, preſents, in every countenance, ſtrong lineaments of depreſſed minds, the circumſtance proves the truth of the obſervation. The people are polite and courteous; and though they pride themſelves on their republic, they are the moſt wretched ſlaves of Europe, and cannot inſure their ſafety for an hour from the fangs of the inquiſition. But in democracies, liberty is diſtinguiſhable in the attitudes, traits, actions, manners, and cuſtoms of each citizen; and in England, where the democracy was, and ſhould be the moſt prominent feature of the conſtitution, the manners, boldneſs, and character, and the ſpirit of adventure

venture in our countrymen, have incontrovertibly eſtabliſhed the certainty of the ſuperior energies of a people, releaſed from the galling chains of deſpotiſm

CHAP. VII.

SLAVERY, AND LIBERTY.

"WITH thee, ſweet liberty, the ſwain is happier, as he eats his cruſt, than the monarch from whoſe court thou art exiled." Writers, in all ages, have ſuppoſed, that liberty cannot exiſt under a monarchical form of government, and have invariably aſſociated, with the freedom and happineſs of the people, a republican, or democratic inſtitution. But to me it appears, that as long as the peace and harmony of ſociety is ſecured, the form and conſtitution of the ſtate is very immaterial; though I muſt allow, that

that where the conſtitution protects and delineates the rights of the ſubject, and deſcribes bounds and modes of action to the government, more good may be reaſonably expected, and the happineſs of the governed more firmly guaranteed, than where the adminiſtration is abſolute, and its will too frequently in oppoſition to the intereſt of the people. If the happineſs of Denmark has been long improved and ameliorated by the wiſe ordinances of the prince, and if his country has been ably maintained in a ſyſtem of neutrality, neither terrified by the threats of a Britiſh envoy, nor baſely crouching under the wide extended intrigues of French republicans, we muſt admire the prudent policy of the prince, rather than deduce arguments of the convenience and excellence of a monarchical government. As the peace of mankind

is and ought to be the primary object of conſideration, in every political inſtitution, I will examine the condition of the ſubject under a monarchy and a republic.

The hiſtorians, who have deſcribed the events of the ancient world, have maintained a moſt ſingular ſilence on their moſt important duty, on the condition and happineſs of the people; and did we not read of the thouſands immolated to gratify the ambition and caprice of the kings, princes, and lords, we might have been ignorant of the exiſtence of the multitude. The unhappy wretches, whoſe chains the premature ſtate of ſociety contributed to forge, were everywhere the ſlaves of their maſters; they laboured for the benefit of the king or his ſubordinate ſatraps; and if they were ever permitted to think, breathe, or

act

act for themſelves, their ignorance or the violent vindictive ſpirit, invariably attendant upon an infant ſtate of ſociety, inſtigated them to renew upon their neighbours the cruel outrages, which they had lately ſeen committed upon the adjoining ſtate, under the direction, and for the intereſt of their ſuperiors. The kings of Aſſyria, of Babylon, Egypt, and Perſia, whoſe pride, madneſs, and fallacious calculations, could only be equalled by the thundering manifeſto (may I depreſs great things to ſmall, and compare kings and princes?) of the duke of Brunſwick, and whoſe ſubſequent humiliation was only ſurpaſſed by the ſoftened tones of the Britiſh miniſters at the courts of Denmark and Florence, or before the ſenate of Venice and Genoa, never believed they had received their high dignity in truſt, and for the benefit of their ſubjects; but

following the wanton caprice of their own minds, ſuſpended the labours of agriculture, from which a benign climate and copious ſtreams of water everywhere promiſed a plentiful harveſt, and dragged the peaceable ruſtic to the occupation and ravage of war *, waſted the accumulation of treaſure in the building or beautifying of immenſe cities, or by endeavouring to perpetuate an obſcure fame by ſtupendous mauſolea, and gloomy pyramids.

In

* I do not know that hiſtorians relate it, but perhaps the ancient wars were ſometimes waged by the kings to deſtroy the ſeeds of liberty, or which has ſince been contemptuouſly called jacobiniſm. I can hardly think, that Darius and Xerxes would make ſuch mighty preparations to conquer Greece for the ſole dominion of the earth, as their own territories were ſo much more abundant in the delicacies and luxuries of life. Beſides the latter was in his march joined by all the kings, who ſeem to have made it a common cauſe; and on his failure the Grecian cities in Aſia Minor recovered their independence and popular inſtitutions.

In the later periods of the world, when the vaſt empire of Rome, enfeebled by an indeciſive government, convulſed and divided by the numerous factions of the two capitals, and privately oppreſſed by the provincial generals and luxurious nobles, tottered to its ruin before the inceſſant attacks of the north, the conquerors, though perhaps free, and governed by a national aſſembly at home, ſoon dwindled into the humble ſlaves of monarchs, and courted that ſolitary power with greater fondneſs than ever they had boaſted of their liberty. The vaſe of Soiſſons might have been, in a few years afterwards, apportioned to the leader without a murmur; or if any licentious ſpirit had dared to proteſt, his accompliſhed comrades, if formed into a military jury, would have condemned him to the puniſhment of a rebel. King was early a darling

ſound,

ſound, but was never conſecrated till the introduction of the chriſtian religion, and till the convenience of prieſts, and their accordance with the political leaders, intereſted them to ſelect, or perhaps to inſert into the rare, and ſeldom ſeen copies of the holy writ, ſome paſſages favourable to the ſyſtem of monarchy and of implicit ſubmiſſion. This holy devotion, which the kings found neceſſary to inſure obedience to their wicked, or impotent government, was indiſpenſable to the intereſts of the church*; and upon the blind reliance of the people, the political and eccleſiaſtical hierarchy erected a ſtupendous, lofty, and highly ornamented ſuperſtructure, which, as it was too heavy,

* I was nearly ſaying religion; but the chriſtian code, if it alone forms the religious guide, is pregnant with morality, ſubverſive of oſtentation, and an enemy to gloom and melancholy.

heavy, and was not ſuſpected of any hollowneſs in the foundation, or weakneſs in the building, now tottering to its fall, ſhakes the whole to its centre.

One monarch, who received the peculiar benediction of the chriſtian vicegerent, and in whoſe name the folly and ignorance of mankind have inſeparably blended *great*, wiſely uſed the power of the church to ſtrengthen his own expanded greatneſs. If a ſtate of warfare, if ſeignorial exactions, vaſt royal domains, and numerous hunting ſeats, eſtabliſh the honours of a king among his ſubjects, or ſound his praiſe abroad, Charlemagne deſerved the title of great, and his people the enviable name of happy. But look a little beyond the ſurface; and his abilities were deſtined to lead a chace, perſonate

perſonate a good fellow and *rex vini* in a company, who did not know how to *read*, or to build monaſteries, to enrich the prieſthood, and impoveriſh the people. The extent and excellence of his inſtitutions, though they received the noiſy and fulſome eulogiums of his confeſſors, were moſt completely proved by their inſtability; and the only benefit, if benefit it can be called, conferred upon the people by the weakneſs of his inſtitutions, was to be transferred from the arbitrary and general tyranny of one king to the minute, partial, and oppreſſive exactions of an hundred.

The vaſt empire of Charlemagne, too extenſive for the little minds of his ſucceſſors, and no way united by the ſameneſs of diſpoſitions, tempers, and manners, or connected by the rational

tional government of the kings, ſoon became the prey of the rebel lords, who apportioned it at their pleaſure; and leaving to their liege and lawful maſter the ſoothing title of emperor, kindly deprived him of the cares of empire*. The people continued in the ſame ſtate of vaſſalage; or if their condition was altered, they could not boaſt of any improvement. The tax-gatherers were more rapacious; and the ſeignorial lords, as juſtice, which they falſely called, was adminiſtered by

* The princes of Germany, though ſevere in the maintenance of their own ſubordinate rights, treated the Imperial dignity with jacobin contempt; and though they now are ſo alarmed at any infringement of their princely pretenſions, and the violation of the ſacred royal perſon, they once paſſed over, in ſilence, the daring outrage of a *butcher* of Worms, who impriſoned the Imperial carcaſe for a ſmall trifling debt, judging, I ſuppoſe, that the royal and *divine* ſoul could not be affected by what was done in the body.

by themſelves, and as their high dignity and human nature, was not incapable of being biaſſed by intereſt, demanded, and enforced the payment of money or corn, and produce, and the perſonal ſervice of their tenants with greater rigour. One emperor, and a century of penſioners, were changed into an hundred kings or princes, and ten thouſand courtly ſlaves; and all theſe additional eſtabliſhments muſt be ſupported by the ſweat and labour of the people. Yet under all theſe aggravated circumſtances, the people continued ſubmiſſive to the will of the prince; and though further taxed with tythes, bowed with due reverence to the exemptions, and infallible decrees of the church. In progreſs of time, the dukedoms of Burgundy and Loraine, the principality of Dauphinè, the county of Provençe, and the continental

tinental dominions of the Engliſh were inſeparably united to the crown of France. But this compreſſion of the executive government did not alleviate the ſufferings, or lighten the burthens of the people: by war, the acceſſion of territory had been obtained; and by war it muſt be ſupported. The ambition of the monarchs of France, and the oppoſite intereſts of the emperor and the empire ſoon created the neceſſity of forming a ſtanding army, which the perverſe ſyſtem of governments, mutual ambition, and jealouſy has ſince inevitably continued. As the courts of Germany were ſo numerous, as each ſupported an independent regalia, and a military eſtabliſhment, and as the reſources of commerce were denied by their ſituation to the Germanic powers, the expence of government would have fallen very heavy upon that phlegmatic people;

ple; but the ſaturnity of the natural conſtitution, which clogged the actions of the people, had its proportional effect upon the princes of the empire; and though all ſacrificed the wealth of their ſubjects to military parade, and occaſional wars, their expenditures at home were comparatively prudent and economical. The French, who united a fond predilection to every wild extravagant ſcheme of their monarch with the moſt volatile temperament, ſoon anticipated the reſources of the country. The government could no longer be directed by the ſtrength and wiſdom of a king: and when the ſtates general reſumed their functions, after a ſuſpenſion of four hundred years, and the people were reſtored to the dignity and independence of man, this much-revered ſuperſtructure of ages was gradually removed, and all

power,

power, honours, and ſovereignty reverted to the people *.

Men, who are fighting, or are perſuaded that they fight for themſelves, their families, and for every thing ſacred and dear, have ever, voluntarily, rallied in great numbers to repel the aggreſſion of another; but to this natural enthuſiaſm, the convention have added every reſource of ſociety, and put perſons and property in requiſition for the ſervice of the common country. Their victorious armies have paſſed the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine: Spain trembles through every claſs of venality and privilege: and the ſaints of Italy nod to their fall at the approach of the image of liberty. The princes

* As this is an age of prophecy, ſome may think, that the king, or "head of gold" was too expenſive, or heavy, for the "feet of clay."

princes of the German empire are more induſtriouſly engaged to watch, repreſs, and puniſh their own ſeditious ſubjects, than repel the invaſions of France; and though the circles ſhould unanimouſly vote the quintuple contingent, and the requiſitions of Hanover be imitated by the other powers, they would thereby put arms into the hands of the diſcontented, and accelerate the progreſs of that power, and thoſe principles, they were intended to impede.

The world, or at leaſt all that part of Europe, which extends from the Atlantic, to the black foreſts and ſavage inhabitants of Ruſſia, is violently, or ſecretly convulſed with the ſubtile poiſon of liberty, and ſeems ready to inflict the *coup de grace* to the agonizing ſpirits of abſolute monarchy; and

and though their manners, intereſts, and prejudices will make them abhor any fraternization with France, they will eagerly act upon her principles. The ſame of the revolution was eaſily carried along the narrow paſſes of the mountains into the vallies of Savoy: a ſimilarity of language, and of ſufferings as eaſily attuned the Savoyard breaſt in uniſon with France; and in contempt of the holy advice of their ſpiritual fathers, this dangerous venom quickly inſinuated itſelf into the hearts of theſe mountaineers. It has been generally obſerved, that a mountainous country is favourable to the ſentiments of liberty; and that the plains, fertile, and highly cultivated lands, from the ſameneſs, or tame appearance of the objects, debilitate the mind, and generate that ſpecies of mental lethargy, which is the parent of ſlavery.

The

The experience of ages and nations has too frequently atteſted the truth, that, when the people, who inhabited the mountains, have deſcended into the plains for plunder, or for a more benign climate, they have gradually been blended with the maſs of the conquered, early loſt the ſuperior energy of body and mind, and in the ſecond and third generation, could not be diſtinguiſhed from the feeble inhabitants of the plains. But that ſpecies of liberty, which may be loſt by the change of ſituation, or a reſidence in plains, has nothing in common with the liberty of France. The former is expreſſive of a ſavage life, and infant ſtate of ſociety, where their perſonal liberty is ſecured only by their poverty, and by their few wants, where the rights of the ſubject, and the duties of the prince are alike undefined. The Tartar roams unreſtrained in the vaſt

vaſt deſarts of Aſia, with his camp of horſes and cattle; and though his pleaſures are concentered in his family and favourite horſe, and might there beſt enjoy them, yet abuſing his natural liberty, he has frequently been inſtigated, by a ſingular caprice of the human mind, to invade and ravage the ſouthern provinces, whoſe fertile ſoil he will not cultivate, whoſe riches and gold are uſeleſs in his native wilds, and from the murder of whoſe labourers and people he can extract no profit. The weak Aſiatics, enfeebled by the heat of the climate, the arbitrary tyranny of the governments, and by the want of exertion, both of body and mind, have been always the prey to the firſt comer; and in ſome parts, where the Hindoo religion prevails, the peaceable and happy inſtitutions of ſociety have unfortu-

tunately accelerated the progreſs of the invaders. The Tartars, or inhabitants of the mountains north of Indoſtan, who ſwept away, in their deſtructive progreſs, every appearance of cultivation, of arts and ſciences, could not forbear, although their leaders muſt have known the peaceable religion of the vaſt majority of the caſts, from extirpating the inhabitants of Delhi, and to aſſure the ſafety of the new Tartarian capital, immolated a million of heads to the bloody God of the conquerors.

Unfortunately for mankind, a fondneſs for military glory has generally prevailed among the kingdoms of the earth; and except in the peaceful inſtitutions of the Hindoo, a military reſtleſs character is more cheriſhed, than the calm and happy tranquillity of the citizen. A free ſtate, if well conſtituted,

conſtituted, ſhould be in every inſtitution favourable to peace, foreign and domeſtic; but in the generality of ſtates, which call themſelves free, we unfortunately diſcover a very oppoſite inclination. The Pole, whoſe heart has long nobly beat for the republic and liberty, was more attached, through the miſerable colliſions of intereſt in his ill-fancied commonwealth, to the falſe glory of war and arms, than to the ſubſtantial bleſſings of peace and domeſtic quiet. The election of the chief magiſtrate was the general ſignal of murder and convulſion; and in theſe bloody and tumultuous diets, the deluded ſlaves imagined they enjoyed the ineſtimable prize of liberty. In Switzerland, though the prudence of the adminiſtrative bodies has enſured the individual comforts of the ſubjects, and has ſeldom involved them in bloody and unneceſſary wars,

too often trifling in their object, and expenſive in its acquiſition, the fame of a military life pervades the adventurous boſoms of theſe happy cantons. They have heard, and they read with pleaſure and exulting fondneſs, of the bravery and daring impetuoſity of their free and warlike anceſtors: the fight of Nœffells*, or the field of blood, and

* Nœfells is in the canton of Glaris, where an army of fifteen or twenty thouſand Auſtrians, embattled for the cauſe of their maſter, the Archduke, and for the reduction of the *rebel* Swiſs, was defeated by three hundred and thirty men, who fought with the energy of liberty, *pro aris et focis*, againſt the palſied power of deſpotiſm; and the wine of the field of blood, near Baſle, where was defeated the army of the French, and the *Ranz des Vaches*, an old tune, which the Swiſs hear in their infancy, as they remind them of their warlike anceſtors, contribute to increaſe their attachment to a military life. The latter has been known, when played in the Swiſs regiments in the ſervice of France and Holland, to have generated that ſpecies of mental imbecility, emphatically

and the wild ſounds of the *Ranz des Vaches*, will ſuddenly transform them into heroes; and as they cannot find military employment at home, they migrate into France, Germany, and Italy; and though free and independent themſelves, aſſiſt to manacle the enſlaved hands of their neighbours.

In the ancient republic of Rome, a ſtate of warfare was the only means of preſerving the internal peace; and in the long period of ſeven hundred years, heavily charged with the crimes of the Patricians, and the wretchedneſs of the people, the temple of Janus was only twice ſhut, and peace as often given to the convulſed republic. Liberty,

phatically called by the French *Maladie du Pays*, which, by recalling the fond attachments of youth, and the pleaſures of our country, has frequently occaſioned deſertion, and in ſome inſtances a gradual decay, and death.

berty, thus arrayed in arms, was more terrific to the neighbouring nations than the chains of kings. Soldiers were the moſt worthy citizens of the Roman commonwealth; and though a lawyer, an orator, or a philoſopher, might fondly hope, *cedant arma togæ, concedant laurea linguæ*, a military life moſt effectually inſured the attainment of honours, dignity, and power. But that Herculean force, which raiſed the Roman to the dominion of the world, which, though it ſometimes admitted the vanquiſhed to an equal participation of rights, governed the nations by force, and trampled upon the rights and immunities of their foreign ſubjects, afterwards effected the ruin of the country, and guided by the ſuperior genius of Cæſar, ſerved to enſlave his fellow citizens.

The

The army, which afterwards was divided into troops of the frontiers, and prætorian guards, were abſolute maſters of the city of Rome; and when prompted by the fame of a military leader, by gratitude, by donatives, promiſes, or threats, elevated their favourite, without diſtinction, to the imperial dignity; and finally becoming the prey of diſcord, and every ſpecies of diſorder, crumbled, with the fancied and empty name of republic, into nothingneſs, and yielded the plunder of the fertile provinces of Rome to the barbarians of the north.

Theſe new people, who were ever boaſting of liberty, immediately reduced the rights of perſons and property to the moſt rigid ſlavery; and introduced into Europe a novel æra of manners, cuſtoms, and abſolute de-

pendance. The people of the conquered provinces were treated as ſlaves, ſerfs, or villains; and the invaders or conquerors alone were poſſeſſed of the rights and privileges of freemen. In one country, Franc was once ſynonimous to noble; and though its derivative François afterwards diſtinguiſhed a mighty and warlike nation, the people knew nothing of the darling word, but the name. If the nobles were the deſcendants of the ancient Franks, they carefully preſerved the claims of conqueſt and immunities, to the utter excluſion of the people or vanquiſhed. The feudal tenures, which the conquerors everywhere eſtabliſhed upon the ruins of the allodial ſyſtem, contributed moſt eſſentially to ſubjugate perſons and property to the will of the few, and created a long chain of ſubjection and vaſſalage from the monarch to the

ſlave.

ſlave. Liberty was everywhere deſtroyed; and every force of ſociety was put in motion for the benefit, or at the controul of a lord paramount, or to ſerve the capricious humour of the kings. A heavy cloud of darkneſs and ignorance a long time over-ſhadowed the earth; and except ſometimes pierced by faint rays of light, remained impenetrable, till the Aurora of printing firſt crimſoned, and the ſubſequent ſun of reaſon brightly gilded the European hemiſphere, expoſed the dark impoſitions of the church, and breaking the long chain of ſubjection, directed man to his own happineſs.

In proportion to the improvement of the mind, the happineſs and condition of mankind have increaſed; and the abſurd ſyſtem of fœdal tyranny has decayed. At one period, the rigours of this minute and endleſs ty-

tyranny were carried to the greateſt exceſs in England: but the Engliſh Juſtinian, wiſely and prudently terminating the creation of new tenures, gave a deadly blow to the village ariſtocracy; and the people, recovering ſomething of the independance of man, but not ſufficiently ſtrong to reſiſt oppreſſion, or not enlightened to ſeek directors from their own body, alternately joined the king to repreſs the inſolence and claims of the nobles, or took arms with the nobles to humble the pretenſions of the king. In theſe various conteſts, however, the enjoyment of their rights was partially guaranteed to the people, who having once felt the genial temperature of liberty, and daily more conſcious of the dignity of man, jealouſly watched, and vigorouſly maintained, their independance againſt the continual aggreſſions of the nobles, and the more ſubtile attempts

attempts of the monarch. After a variety of convulſions, the more odious claims of tenure, and military ſervice, were finally deſtroyed; the next age witneſſed the improvement of the mind, and the unparalleled inſtance of a bloodleſs revolution, effected by the general wiſh of the noble and plebeian party. But the eſtabliſhment of our mixed liberty was not productive of thoſe ſubſtantial benefits the friend of his country might have expected: the military mania of William, or the ambitious projects of Louis interrupted the golden dreams of peace and happineſs; and England was afterwards doomed to ſuffer under more bloody and expenſive wars, than during the deteſted period of monarchical and papal tyranny. Some great defect was ſtill uneradicated: the people were long enamoured, and lately boaſted of

the glories of war, and were eaſily perſuaded to interrupt their peaceable ſpeculations, and commercial benefits, and join in the conqueſt of France, and increaſe the national debt to near three hundred millions. Notwithſtanding the frequent preſſures of public calamity during this century, the commerce of the kingdom has greatly increaſed; and as the reſt of the continent is now torn with foreign enemies, and civil diſſenſions, the importation of money and property into this country, as a ſafe depôt, has greatly increaſed our capital, and made us feel leſs of the poverty of war. But incalculable indeed would have been the advantages of our inſular ſituation, and domeſtic quiet, if the pride of a miniſter, and the paſſions of the council had not precipitated the nation into the war.

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In oppoſition to the general effects of long wars, notwithſtanding the heavy burthen of a national debt, the ambitious ſchemes of miniſters, and the colliſions of party, the happy condition of the Engliſh people was long unparalleled in Europe; but as, ſince the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act, the liberty of the ſubject depends upon the will or caprice of a miniſter, we can now only boaſt of a well-tempered ſlavery. If the power has not been frequently exerted, and abuſed, or if John and James are to-day innocent, they cannot inſure the ſafety of to-morrow. They may then be dragged before the privy council, and upon the accuſation of a perjured informer, be committed to many months' impriſonment for *intending* to aſſaſſinate the king with a poiſoned arrow, blown through a tube, or with other

other ridiculous, or as ineffectual inſtruments.

The name of an Engliſhman was, till lately, dear to the inhabitants of the European continent; but, unhappily for our country, the tyrannical meaſures of Engliſh miniſters, towards neutral ſtates, have very materially depreciated our character in their eſtimation. The ſubjects of the coaleſced powers, who are groaning under every variety of oppreſſion, and hope, by a peace, to be relieved from their extraordinary burthens and requiſitions, attribute the delay of acknowledging the French republic to the pride and obſtinacy of the Engliſh court; and though their princes are generally ſubſidized by the Engliſh nation, they do not the leſs oppreſs their own ſubjects; and, perhaps at this moment,

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the prince of Heſſe, like his brother of Hanover, is accumulating a private fortune. The kingdoms did once behold, in the people of England, a nation magnanimous and generous. We prevented the Dutch patriots from eſtabliſhing their liberty; and during this war, they almoſt univerſally admitted, that the Britiſh miniſters drew them into the alliance to profit by their diſgrace, and to build our marine upon the ruins of the commerce of other nations. France is perſuaded, and the people and princes of the continent fear, that England will exalt itſelf to the indiſputable and excluſive empire of the ſeas, and that the barbarians of Ruſſia will again overthrow the poliſhed and civilized inſtitutions of ſociety, and will extend their barbarous dominion over the faireſt portion of the earth.

When

When the Imperial army was joined on the frontiers of France by the Britiſh guards, they rejoiced in the alliance with a people, who, they underſtood, were ſtrong and invincible at ſea; but when the grand army was divided, and the regiments of Jordis and Sardis accompanied the Duke of York to the conqueſt of Dunkirk, the Auſtrians flattered themſelves with a ſight of the ſea, of the Britiſh fleet, whoſe thunders had been before carried round the world, and with the immediate reduction of that important fortreſs. The ſoldiers, who could eſcape from their camp, walked with novel pleaſure upon the beach, and near the imaginary dominion of their brave ally, with fond childiſhneſs picked up, and carefully ſecreted the pebbles, and marine depoſitions, and ſtared with amazement, when the three veſſels in the roads ſaluted them as enemies. The

Engliſh

Engliſh character, which the ignorance of the Auſtrian ſoldiers had elevated to demi-gods, and which the Britiſh valour, in the ſtorm of the out-works of Valenciennes, had immeaſurably improved, was at once depreſſed to the common level of themſelves; and ſince the defeat at Hondſchote, and the general retreat of the laſt campaign, and from the diſtruſt, which misfortunes muſt ever engender among allies of diſtinct intereſts, neither our allies or enemies any longer reſpect the valour of our countrymen *, or the energies of our liberty.

Though the Engliſh conſtitution did ſecure the liberty of the ſubject, protect

* The Dutch once thought, when the Engliſh and Batavian troops were vanquiſhed by the French, that the Imperial general connived at our diſaſters, and that he had made a ſecret compact with them to effect the ruin of England and Holland.

tect him in his property, and define the prerogatives of the crown, and the privileges of the nobility, this modification of government is no way favourable to the repoſe of ſociety, and the peace and tranquillity of mankind. The people undoubtedly may grant, or withhold ſupplies, if the commons houſe of parliament, whoſe majority is nominated by the treaſury, by lords, and borough holders, repreſent, or can expreſs the voice of the people. The fallacy of our repreſentation can be no better proved, than by the obedience with which the majority adopts the tones of the court, and ſupports with equal indifference, by a ſimple affirmative, or negative, the good or bad meaſures of a good or bad miniſter, frequently in oppoſition to the intereſts and collective voice of the people. But ſuppoſing that the repreſentatives were delegated to their important

portant duty by the univerſal ſuffrage of the people, and as ſuch ſpoke the ſenſe of the nation, it would be dangerous to continue them in their legiſlative capacity for ſeven years; and at every election, to arm them with all the powers of a ſeptennial ariſtocracy.

When Plato firſt breathed the poſſible perfection of a ſtate, compoſed of three orders of legiſlation, a monarch, an ariſtocracy, or patrician body, and a democracy, or the people, the friends of the exiſting abuſes loudly decried this Utopian ſcheme; and though they allowed its excellence in theory, or on paper, were convinced of its impracticability in a corrupt ſociety. Mankind have been always accuſed of corruption, and ſuppoſed incapable of governing themſelves: the catholic prieſt affects to believe, that without auricular confeſſion, his flock would

ſoon

ſoon return to the moſt licentious and ſavage nature; and the friends of abſolute power are convinced of the ſuperior condition of man, when he is kindly eaſed of every comfort of ſociety, bought and ſold with the earth, or when drilled into a ſoldier, acts without volition, as an automaton. But in England, Switzerland, and America, where the human mind is permitted to wanton with every extravagance of liberty, we diſcover none of thoſe dreadful conſequences our maſters wiſh us to apprehend: man acts for himſelf, his energy is greater and more uſefully exerciſed; and the crimes, which he commits, are boldly done in the face of day. Mankind ſeem more pure and virtuous, when, unconſtrained by any ſhackles, they act agreeably to the conviction of reaſon: compel them to labour, or a certain routine of action, they that moment

moment become hypocrites and vicious. Releaſe them from their bondage; and they will not abuſe their liberty. When America dared to aſſert its independence, its mighty fall was predicted by every loyal mouth; the ſtruggles of liberty were the agonies of death; and incapable of exiſting under a conſtitution more democratic, and leſs reſtrictive than ours, the rebel child would ſoon be glad to repoſe on the boſom of the mother country.

In the long lapſe of three thouſand years, the human mind has gradually improved; and if the people of Greece were then not ſufficiently enlightened to act upon the viſionary politics of Plato, we have ſince ſeen a nation happy and content under that triple form. Philoſophers and ſpeculatiſts have ſince thought, that a repreſentative

tive republic, legitimately conſtituted, and expreſſive of the general will of the ſovereign people, will conduce moſt to the happineſs and improvement of mankind: a republic, in which every citizen has liberty to act without conſulting a patron, and to do every thing he wiſhes, that is not detrimental to another, or contrary to the exiſting laws; that all ſuperior, or privileged orders, are, as contrary to the natural equality of man, inconſiſtent with his happineſs; and that the members of the national repreſentation, though during the period of legiſlation ariſtocratic, dictatorial, and elevated above the multitude, ſhould annually return to the common level of their fellow citizens, be caſhiered, or re-elected, according to their actions and political conduct.

Theſe

Theſe opinions are now conſidered airy and viſionary; and though we have examples before our eyes of the accommodating temper, and virtuous conduct of freemen, theſe ſpeculations are eſteemed juſt in principle, but impoſſible in practice. If my ſoul had inhabited the body of a contemporary of Plato, (but of this I feel no internal conviction) I ſhould have been inclined to believe, with the placemen and penſioners of thoſe days, that revolutions or alterations of government were always dangerous; but I ſhould above all have feared, that this complex machine, ſo laden with wheels of different conſtructions inevitably acting to different ends, would have required a vaſt momentum to create and continue the motion. The king muſt have been the primary power; and to him the others muſt have looked up with due ſubmiſſion. All muſt have acted

acted in concert, or the political motion would have been ſuſpended. Intereſt and prejudice will always warp the actions of mankind: the ariſtocracy might wiſh to increaſe the privileges of their order; and the people, whoſe voice the delegated body was intended to expreſs, might intereſtedly or capriciouſly counteract the other's virtuous or vicious inclinations. The popular delegation, if their duration had been ſeptennial, or even triennial, might become independent of their conſtituents, and be eaſily corrupted to advance the dignity, or tyrannize the power of the crown; or that delegation, though ſent by the people, as they might be connected with the ariſtocracy by intereſt, by birth, or marriage, might, in combination with the nobles or patricians, make their power preponderate. The crown, or the ſervants of the crown, who will

always purſue with the moſt ſubtile cunning every meaſure that can tend to increaſe their own intereſt; and as in time the beſt inſtitutions may become corrupted, and as miniſters, and the ſervants of the public, cannot be diſmiſſed in a moment from wealth and honours to poverty and diſgrace, a numerous liſt of places and penſions will be, momentarily, vacant to purchaſe votes, and corrupt the legiſlative bodies. But the people, I ſhall be told, or the popular delegation, will vote away or grant the ſupplies for the ſervice of government, and confine the expenditure to a certain ſum. But in the hiſtory of mankind, among nations, or in private life, did we never ſee actions, apparently the moſt benevolent, prompted by intereſt? Did we never ſee a parliament, a houſe of commons, a ſtates general, with every apparent patriotiſm and diſintereſted purity,

vote, out of the public purſe, large ſums for the ſecret ſervices and exigencies of the year, and receive back again, individually, an ample portion in the ſhape of contracts, honourable gifts of plate, or by the increaſed emoluments of office. The wheel of government muſt continue to roll on: the legiſlative bodies muſt generouſly grant, that the king may as generouſly purchaſe the votes of his parliament, or the aſſiſtance of his allies; and, inſtead of the union of three perfections, the people will be loaded with all the evils and expence of the three modes of government. The experience of a century, and the accumulation of an immenſe national debt are convincing proofs that the conſtitution of England, which is, on all ſides, admitted not to be perfect, promotes not that general good a pure government ſhould be capable of effecting; and though

thouſands

thouſands are rich, luxurious, and extravagant, a proportionate number are poor and diſtreſſed. But where can we find happineſs, or how can we diſcover that enviable liberty, which will moſt effectually produce and ſecure our peace and comfort?

The liberty, which the Engliſh enjoy, has given them courage and boldneſs; and, upon their introduction to foreigners, they generally prefaced their ſalutations with the aſſurance that they were Engliſhmen. But the French, though they might boaſt of the ſmiles and glories of the grand monarch, as generally concealed their nation*: they were conſcious of the infamous reputation of the French nobleſſe, of the total privation of political rights,

* Perhaps, after the eſtabliſhment of liberty, they may introduce themſelves, as the Engliſh did, and be as much reſpected among the nations.

rights, and of their humble vaſſalage to the church. No real liberty can exiſt, where the human mind is held faſt bound by the chains of ſuperſtition; and as long as a man will pay religious adoration before a ſaint, a gold or ſilver image, or a picture of a Virgin Mary, his mind will be incapable of the great duties of a citizen. To the catholic reformer, I wiſh to recommend the direction of a philoſophic engraver on the croſs of Vaucluſe, "Repeat no Ave-Marias here, be good, and diſturb not the repoſe of the virgin."

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

PREJUDICE.

PREJUDICE is ſomewhere, I believe, explained to be "a ſpecies of epidemical contagion, everywhere attached to the people, to women, to children, and old men: but which yields to the force of reaſon." This diſorder prevails, but too generally, both in enlightened and civilized nations, and among the moſt barbarous and ſavage. The people of England, once believed, that the royal perſon was poſſeſſed of the Eſculapian power of healing the ſubject of a ſcrophulous habit; and as late as the days of William the third, the royal finger was applied for that medicinal purpoſe.

Since the reign of Edward the third, this country has been, with very little

intermiſſion, engaged in the moſt bloody and obſtinate wars with the people of France. Henry the fifth, taking advantage of the feuds and animoſities in that diſtracted kingdom, carried his victorious arms to Paris; and being crowned by ſome of his partizans, bequeathed to his infant ſon an uncertain dominion, and to his ſucceſſors, the vain and empty title of king of France. Prejudice and pride has continued this inſignificant bauble in the titles of his Britiſh majeſty, and quartered the fleurs de lys in the royal ſhield. As Engliſhmen, we read with pride the warlike feats of our anceſtors, and truſting to the partial hiſtories of our countrymen, are convinced, that in virtue, in courage, corporal and intellectual endowments, we are ſuperior to the ſlaves of the continent. Our ſailors have long prided themſelves upon their courage; and every one believed he could, " ſingle handed, beat

ten

ten mounſeers." This prejudice had taken firm poſſeſſion of the ſoldiers alſo; and when the Britiſh troops, during the late campaigns in Flanders, and the ſubſequent retreat into Holland, diſcovered that the French ſoldiers were not ſo deſtitute of valour as they formerly believed, and that ſome of them in the advanced poſts ſpoke Engliſh, they were firmly perſuaded, but with an arrogance of all courage to their own nation, that, "damn them, they are all Scotchmen and Iriſhmen *."

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* Many of the true believers, in England, are ſtill convinced of the vaſt ſuperiority of their own forces; and one gentleman, who boaſted of his certain information, and of his various converſations with officers of the army, aſſured me, that the French troops were in no degree brave: that their numbers alone prevailed; and that when our men ever retreated, it was occaſioned by the fatigue of cutting them down. Another of our fire-ſide warriors wiſhed they would only "come on twelve to one, and we ſhould beat them yet;" and ſhewing me the ſixpenny plan of the frontier,

In England, where a popular democratic ſpirit has for ſo many ages prevailed, we are all convinced, that if in any battle with our enemies we have been vanquiſhed, it is imputable to the unſkilfulneſs of the officers; and our loweſt, and moſt prejudiced people will damn them, " for the men will always fight, if the officers will lead them on. The French officers," ſay they, " can never beat their men forwards." 'Tis true, we have heard much of the ancient valour of the French nobleſſe *; and ſome may believe, that it is " the cheap defence of nations;" but ſince the revolution, when

tier, on which were marked neither rivers nor woods followed with his finger the direct road to Paris, ſometimes deviating on the left and the right hand, to avoid the fortified towns, which were not at all neceſſary to aſſure their victorious march.

* The late ſucceſſes of the French arms, will prove to our countrymen, that the French people can fight, though no longer impelled by the brave nobleſſe.

when I praiſed the ſkill and courage of the French officers, and declared that in England we all believed the event of the battle was due to their ſuperior ſkill, the French have ſeveral times denied the truth of it, and with a national prejudice, perhaps equally falſe, given all the military glory to the common ſoldiers. They have alſo aſſured me, that their own people were convinced, that England owed her victories to her officers.

Whilſt the ſyſtem of warfare is followed by the nations of Europe, it may be conſiſtent with national policy to encourage the prejudices and fancied ſuperiority of each people. The arms of the allies are indebted, for many a victory, to the belief in the Imperial ſoldier, that the cauſe of Cæſar is the cauſe of God; and though they did not fight with the enthuſiaſtic ardour of their enemies, they continued the

the battle with more diſciplined ſteadineſs, and for a long time reſiſted, with ſucceſs, the furious and impetuous attacks of the French. When the army of Houchard had been victorious againſt the Engliſh and Hanoverians at Dunkirk, and againſt the Dutch near Menin, and were afterwards led to raiſe the ſiege of Maubeuge, and were there, alſo, victorious over the much dreaded Imperialiſts, the French were, afterwards, no longer afraid to oppoſe them in front, or meet them on equal terms. But at ſea they have, always, dreaded to receive the cloſe fraternization of a Britiſh fleet; and from their frequent defeats, they are ever ready to admit our ſuperiority.

The Hollander, who thinks he is travelling with a poor German, drops a ſneer upon his unvitiated ignorance, if he has not ſeen Amſterdam; Frenchmen,

men, who have inhabited, or viſited the capital in the ſplendour of the monarchy, or who have rather credited the exaggerated accounts which every traveller aſſiduouſly propogates in his country neighbourhood, are convinced that Paris is the firſt city of the world, and that London is only *le ſecond Paris*; whilſt Engliſhmen, whoſe inſular pride is exalted by their liberty and commerce, are as firmly perſuaded, that London ſtands unrivalled in population and extent *, and our countrymen pre-eminent in virtue and courage. Let the obſerver change his poſition, or examine the Encyclopedia of France, and he will acknowledge that Engliſhmen are there denominated wicked;

* In a very ſhort converſation with the principal of the Turkiſh embaſſy, through the medium of the Dragoman, upon being aſked by his excellency if I had ever ſeen Conſtantinople, and being anſwered in the negative, he moved the poſition of his legs, reclined forwards, and aſſured me, "I had then the world to ſee."

wicked; and modern Frenchmen, impreſſed by the martial muſic of their ſongs, are perſuaded that they "march to combat with virtue, Engliſhmen with crime." They once aſſumed a noble honour on account of their gay and light tempers, and of their love for their kings; and like the ancient Franks, and flaxen-headed blue-eyed Germans, were once as attached to long hair, as they have been, lately, to the Engliſh round-head. Their minds are become more ſombrous and penſive, and they now moſt ſavagely rejoice in the death of the laſt of the Capets. Engliſhmen are determined to act in oppoſition to France: when they were ſlaves, we boaſted of our liberty; but as they are become free, the word is ſynonimous to rapine and plunder, and we ſubmit with patience to our chains; when they adored the grand monarch, and hallooed his name in the agonies of death, we deſervedly

treated

treated this wild enthuſiaſm with contempt; but becauſe they have imitated the example of England, and *la patrie* is dear to them, we have transferred all our attachments to the king.

Greece once boaſted of its freedom and ſcience; but now oppreſſed by its lawleſs conquerors, and having, in vain, attempted the force of arms, it endeavours to leſſen its grievances by cunning; and as the lordly baſhaw fills his coffers by oppreſſion, he is inclined, and the world peaceably acquieſces, to believe them a nation of impoſtors. Prejudiced againſt their religion, and ſuſpicious of deceit, the armed Turks practiſe againſt the defenceleſs the moſt cruel extortion, but at the ſame moment tremble at the approach of the *green* monarch *.

The

* The Turks, ignorant and prejudiced, believe in an old wife ſtory, that they are to be conquered by

The art of printing, and the improved condition of man, diveſting him of many of his follies and prejudices, have enlarged his reaſon. If Galileo could again inhabit this earth, or if any genius ſhould dare to ſay that the earth is round, and revolves on its own axis, I believe no government in Europe would at preſent condemn the impious heretic for ſo unſcriptural an aſſertion. But among the people ſtill lurk the moſt abſurd prejudices; and though one nation laughs at the cuſtoms and habits, and modes of thinking of another, they are all blindly attached to their own. The hoarded treaſures of the king, or of the commiſſioners of the regency of Hanover could not perſuade a bigotted Engliſhman,

by a green monarch; and as the Ruſſian ſoldiers are clothed in green, the Turks dread to meet them; and thus inſuring the victory to the empreſs of Ruſſia, the credulous are perſuaded of the truth of the prophecy, and accelerate its completion.

Engliſhman, that the French were not our *natural* enemies: hunger could not force him to ſatisfy the demands of appetite with a luxurious diſh of frogs, than which no animal can live more pure; and yet we laugh, with the moſt ſovereign contempt, at the poor Lazaroni of Naples, who died by hundreds in the ſtreets, rather than pollute their famiſhed mouths with potatoes; and at the expatriated Jew, who refuſes, in obedience to the *divine* law, to eat pork, and make himſelf unclean.

Religious prejudices might have claimed a large portion of this chapter; but I abhor them from my ſoul, and I will not ſtain theſe pages. I will condemn no man for an heretic: I believe not in witchcraft: neither European nor Aſiatic, I am not perſuaded of the black or white majeſty of the devil: the Hindoo, the Mahometan

tan, and Chriſtian are my brothers, and to them all are equally due the kind offices of humanity. I do not believe that the French people are all cut throats and robbers; or that "peace, accommodation, or negociation *with their republic*, will be the moſt violent outrage upon ſocial order." But I dread, that by continuing the war, we ſhall expoſe ourſelves to thoſe calamities we wiſhed to avoid, and prepare ourſelves, and all Europe, to crouch under the wide extended ſcourge of Ruſſia *.

* The Ruſſians adore the divinity of their empreſs; and think the mortal wound they receive in battle, if they are fighting beyond the frontiers of the empire, and in the cauſe of their miſtreſs, is only a kind outlet of the ſoul, which is immediately transferred into the honourable body of a noble, and thence ſecurely wafted to the bleſſed regions of peace.

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